

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

HORACE

SATIRES

BOOK II

EDITED BY KIRK FREUDENBURG

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

GENERAL EDITORS

P. E. EASTERLING

Regius Professor Emeritus of Greek, University of Cambridge

PHILIP HARDIE

*Fellow, Trinity College, and Honorary Professor of Latin Emeritus,
University of Cambridge*

NEIL HOPKINSON

Fellow, Trinity College, University of Cambridge

RICHARD HUNTER

Regius Professor of Greek, University of Cambridge

S. P. OAKLEY

Kennedy Professor of Latin, University of Cambridge

FOUNDING EDITORS

P. E. EASTERLING

†E. J. KENNEY

HORACE
SATIRES
BOOK II

EDITED BY
KIRK FREUDENBURG
Yale University, Connecticut



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521444941

DOI: [10.1017/9781139014694](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139014694)

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-0-521-44494-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-44947-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of
URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,
accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Maps and Figures</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Note on the Text</i>	xvi
 Introduction	 1
1 A Second Book of <i>Sermones</i>	1
2 <i>Fabula de te narratur</i> : Satire and Self-Irony in <i>Sermones</i> 2	7
3 Structure, Plot and Time in <i>Sermones</i> 2	10
4 Manuscripts, Scholia and the Text of <i>Sermones</i> 2	13
 Q. HORATI FLACCI SERMONVM LIBER SECVNDVS	 17
 Commentary	 49
 <i>Works Cited</i>	 318
<i>Indexes</i>	
1. Greek technical terms	340
2. Latin words and phrases	340
3. General	341

MAPS AND FIGURES

Map 1	The foods and luxury goods of Horace, <i>Sermones</i> 2, Mediterranean	<i>page</i> xvii
Map 2	The foods and luxury goods of Horace, <i>Sermones</i> 2, Bay of Naples	xviii
Figure 1	Triclinium of Nasidienus	296

PREFACE

It has taken more than two (in fact, now edging toward three) decades for this book to “find itself” and finally see the light of day. Producing lines of commentary is time-consuming, certainly. But it is not all that time-consuming. Before I could really settle down to want to finish this book (that’s the key: not the doing, but the determining to get done), I had to find some way to make this commentary “my own” (thinking here of Horace *S.* 2.6.5 *ut propria ... faxis*). Frances Muecke’s commentary on book 2 of Horace’s *Sermones* appeared shortly before I signed the contract to produce this one. That work set the bar very high for whatever I might “thereupon” have to say about these same poems. Paolo Fedeli’s commentary on both books of the *Sermones*, also excellent, followed shortly thereafter. The publication of these commentaries made my work easier in some ways (you will notice numerous instances of ‘see Muecke *ad loc.*’ in the line-by-line below), but a good deal harder in others. Taking seriously the challenge that these commentaries had set, and wanting to do my own job responsibly and well, I needed to find other things to say about the poems of *S.* 2. Because these “conversations,” so unassuming on their surface, were written by none other than Quintus Horatius Flaccus, a demanding and meticulous poet, always sneaky smart, and never prone to dashing things off, I was sure that they had gems hiding under that surface waiting to be discovered. I just wasn’t sure how to get at them. No matter that. Having signed the contract, the second book of Horace’s *Sermones* was now “mine” to do a commentary on, even though the poems themselves were not, as yet, even remotely “my own.”

To develop new pathways into the second book of Horace’s *Sermones*, I needed to put the poems aside for what turned out to be an astonishing long while. Gathering ideas from places farther off, I conducted a large swing through the bigger world of Roman satire, and of Roman poetry and cultural life more generally. It was there, in working on other projects, and on other poets, concerns and times, that I found what I wanted to say about these poems. Oddly, it was by following Persius down one of his rabbit-holes (a curiously improbable metaphor) that I came to have a fuller (I dare not say “complete”) sense of what Horatian irony is, and how it operates. It was through Persius that these poems came into focus for me. For, whatever else Persius was, whether as a person or poet, he was antiquity’s best reader of Horace, and if modern scholarship has largely disregarded the eight oddball poems of Horace’s second book of *Sermones*, Persius knew better than to think them half-hearted, or even minimally beneath the standard set by Horace’s other works. If

you think about it, Persius was a most unlikely fan of these food-fanatical, Stoic-mocking poems, and yet he was obsessed with them. He knew how to read them, and how to think with them. I needed to find out what was behind that obsession.

Truth be told, I had no business undertaking this commentary. The unlikely chance that I was given to write it was both unexpected and serendipitous. In the last year of my graduate training at the University of Wisconsin I had the good fortune to overlap with Denis Feeney in his first year there. Under his direction I wrote a dissertation that I titled, rather clumsily, “Greek Theories of Comedy and Style in the *Satires* of Horace.” With a good deal of re-thinking and re-writing, that study became *The Walking Muse*. That first book of mine, which still has a few pages that don’t embarrass me (though the number of those pages has become fewer by the year), came out from Princeton University Press in late 1993. The following spring I attended a Classical Association conference at the University of Exeter, where I gave a paper on “Morals and verse-technique in two satires of Horace.” Professor E. J. Kenney (then Latin editor of the Cambridge Green and Yellows) happened to be in the audience that day, and he liked my paper. He kindly invited me to have lunch with him the following day. At that lunch he pitched two proposals over a single pint, both extremely generous and highly advantageous to my cause: (1) that I work up my conference paper and send it to *CQ* (which I promptly did = Freudenburg 1996 in the bibliography below), and (2) that I consider writing a commentary on book 2 of the *Sermones* for the Cambridge Green and Yellows. This took me by surprise. I had no idea what I was getting into, not a clue about the massive amount of work that the project would involve. But I was dazzled by the offer and said yes. Not knowing the ABC’s of commentary-writing, in order to produce the required sample commentary for the syndics of Cambridge University Press to consider, I promptly purchased a copy of Ted Kenney’s own Green and Yellow on Lucretius book 3, determined to use it as my guide. Looking back on that decision, I could have done no better. The pages of my personal copy of that impressive old book, by now heavily annotated and falling out, have yellowed to match the shade of its cover. That book is the wiser older brother, and patient mentor, of the one you hold in your hands.

Because the Latin of Horace’s hexameter poems is often peculiar, unprecedented and/or hard to construe, in the commentary below I expend a good deal of effort in explaining difficulties of grammar, word-choice, syntax and versification. Not all commentaries take the time to do this. Often, I give two possible translations of words, phrases and passages that defy being taken as one thing and not also the other. In the volume introduction below, I chose not to add the standard section on “style and

metre” because the poems of *S. 2*, I long ago discovered, have no single “style” or “metre” to be observed about them; rather, they have at least eight different styles, depending on which of the eight poems one is reading, and who’s holding forth in that poem, and at least as many metres, even though all are hexametric, and all belong to the same genre. Both as *sermo* and as hexameters, these poems vary wildly in the ways that they express themselves. Because of this, matters of style and generic expression are discussed in the essays that introduce the individual poems below, and they are treated *ad hoc* in the line-by-line commentary.

Over the years I have had many conversations with scholars who have done much to expand and enrich my thinking about these poems in particular, and about Latin literature more generally. Especially generous with their encouragement and expert advice were my former Latin colleagues at Ohio State, Will Batstone and Erik Gunderson, as are my current Latin colleagues at Yale: Christina Kraus, Irene Peirano, Joe Solodow and David Quint. Egbert Bakker rates a special mention here as well. For many years he has been my go-to source for all things linguistic, epic and tragic, as well as a sounding board for my ideas. Among Yale graduate students, Niek Janssen has given me much to think about (especially in matters of parody), and among undergraduates Sam Katz and Alex DiMeglio put many hours into reading the commentary when it was still in a shaggy state. Leendert Weeda, whom I once met in Nijmegen, is to be thanked for providing detailed comments on the draft commentary of several poems. Among those persons admired from farther off who have shaped my thinking about satire in fundamental ways, I am especially grateful to John Henderson (hoisting DNA-themed beers with Tom Geue), Emily Gowers (referred to on nearly every page of the commentary below), Kenneth Reckford and Michael Putnam. Paulo Martins has twice hosted me in Brazil, and the audiences there have been remarkable. Andreas Michalopoulos and Sophia Papaioannou gave me the keynote spot at their humor conference in Athens, and it was that occasion especially that gave me the opportunity to rethink Horatian irony. Christiane Reitz invited me to Rostock to give a lecture in celebration of Werner Krenkel’s eightieth birthday, where I met the great man himself. For many years, now, I have benefited from the intellectual brilliance and friendship of Alessandro Barchiesi and Andrea Cucchiarelli. Many years back, Alessandro and Andrea undertook to draw me into the Latin lit. scene in Italy, and over the years they have repeatedly welcomed me into their homes, with their families, and they have introduced me to numerous scholars whom I am very glad to have met: Franco Bellandi, Sergio Casali, Mario Citroni, G. B. Conte, Luca Graverini, Mario Labate, Silvia Mattiacci, Sandra Citroni Marchetti, Rita Pierini, Vicki Rimell, Gianpiero Rosati,

Alessandro Schiesaro, Antonio Stramaglia. All have heard me hold forth on satire, and all deserve my (in many cases long overdue) thanks. Thanks to friends at Washington University in St. Louis (Cathy Keane) and the University of Illinois (Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill), I was able to test out my ideas on ‘the waters of Roman satire’ (= Freudenburg 2018) in front of knowing and engaged audiences. This list could be extended much further, but without Dan Hooley it would be, at best, half-complete (a “fake list”). Dan and I go way back as satiric interlocutors and friends. There are precious few Latin scholars one can “talk kids and politics and satire” with while rock climbing. He’s that friend.

Ted Kenney got me started on this project. Upon his retirement, Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley took over the editorial oversight of the *Green and Yellows*, and the amount of work that they have done on my behalf, and for the betterment of this commentary, has been nothing short of staggering. I can scarcely believe the amount of detailed work that they do to get these volumes into shape. Not only have they identified countless grammatical, citational and punctuational gaffes that needed to be fixed, they have pulled me back from a substantial number of wrong and/or wrongheaded ideas. In the end, they have done much to sharpen my thinking about things I thought I knew well. This book is much better for their hard work. They, along with Michael Sharp, are to be thanked for the forbearance and good humor that they have always shown in their dealings with me. Finally, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Anna Oxbury for a magnificent job of copyediting.

In the matter of institutional support, a sincere debt of gratitude is owed to the College of the Humanities at the Ohio State University for helping make possible two year-long fellowships that were spent working on this commentary at an early stage: in 1994–5 I was “Friedrich Solmsen” Fellow at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and in 2001–2 I was a Fellow of the American Academy in Rome. Since my arrival here at Yale fourteen years ago, I have enjoyed an impressive level of research support in the form of regular leaves and ample funding for research materials and travel. Given the times we live in, one can hardly believe that such investments still happen.

ABBREVIATIONS

WORKS OF REFERENCE

- A–G *Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges*, edited by J. B. Greenough, G. L. Kittredge, A. A. Howard, and B. L. D'Ooge. Boston, 1903.
- Axelson Axelson, B. 1945. *Unpoetische Wörter*, Lund.
- B–N–P Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S., eds. 1998. *Religions of Rome*, 2 vols., Cambridge.
- Chantraine Chantraine, P. 1968–80. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris.
- CIL* 1863–. *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
- CLE* Buecheler, F., ed. 1964. *Carmina Latina epigraphica*, Amsterdam.
- Dessau Dessau, H. 1892–1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 3 vols., Berlin.
- Enc. Or.* Mariotti, S. 1996–8. *Enciclopedia oraziana*, 3 vols., Rome.
- Ernout–Meillet Ernout, J. and Meillet, A. 1959. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4th edn, Paris.
- FLP* Courtney, E. 1993. *The fragmentary Latin poets*, Oxford.
- G–L Gildersleeve, B. L. and Lodge, G. 1895 (repr. 1992). *Latin grammar*, London.
- IG* 1873–. *Inscriptiones Graecae*.
- K–S Kühner, R. and Stegmann, C. 1955. *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, 3rd edn rev. A. Thierfelder, 2 vols., Leverkusen.
- Lewis–Short Lewis, C. T. and Short, C. 1879 (repr. 1987). *A Latin dictionary*, Oxford.
- L–H–S Leumann, M., Hofmann, J. B. and Szantyr, A. 1965–79. *Lateinische Grammatik*, 3 vols., Munich.
- LSJ Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Jones, H. S. and McKenzie, R. 1968. *A Greek–English lexicon*, 9th edn with a revised supplement added 1996, Oxford.
- LTUR* Steinby, E. M., ed. 1993–2000. *Lexicon topographicum Urbis Romae*, Rome.
- Maltby Maltby, R. 1991. *A lexicon of ancient Latin etymologies*, Leeds.
- MRR* Broughton, T. R. S. 1951 (repr. 1986). *The magistrates of the Roman republic*, 3 vols., Atlanta.

Müller	Müller, L. 1894. <i>De re metrica poetarum Latinorum praeter Plautum et Terentium libri septem</i> , 2nd edn, Leipzig.
NLS	Woodcock, E. C. 1959 (repr. 1987). <i>A new Latin syntax</i> , Bristol.
OCD	Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidinow, E., eds. 2012. <i>The Oxford classical dictionary</i> , 4th edn, Oxford.
OGI	Dittenberger, W. 1903–5. <i>Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selecti</i> , Leipzig.
OLD	Glare, P. W., ed. 1968–82. <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> , Oxford.
OLS	Pinkster, H. 2015. <i>The Oxford Latin syntax</i> , vol I: <i>The simple clause</i> , Oxford.
Otto	Otto, A. 1890 (repr. 1962). <i>Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer</i> , Leipzig.
RE	Pauly, A. and Wissowa, G. et al., eds. 1894–1979. <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart.
Richardson	Richardson, L., Jr. 1992. <i>A new topographical dictionary of ancient Rome</i> , Baltimore/London.
TLL	1900 –. <i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> , Munich.
Wills	Wills, J. 1996. <i>Repetition in Latin poetry: Figures of allusion</i> , Oxford.

EDITIONS, STUDIES, COMMENTARIES (HORACE)

[Acro]	Keller, O. 1902–4. <i>Pseudacronis scholia in Horatium uetustiora</i> , 2 vols., Leipzig.
Bentley	Bentley, R. 1711. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus</i> , Cambridge.
Bo	Lenchentin de Gubernatis, M. rev. D. Bo. 1957–60. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera</i> , 3 vols. and <i>Indices</i> , Turin.
Brink	Brink, C. O. 1971. <i>Horace on poetry: The “Ars poetica”</i> , Cambridge; 1982. <i>Horace on poetry: Epistles book II, the letters to Augustus and Florus</i> , Cambridge.
Fedeli	Fedeli, P. 1994. <i>Q. Orazio Flacco: le opera</i> , vol. II: <i>Le satire</i> , Rome.
Gowers	Gowers, E. 2012. <i>Horace Satires book I</i> , Cambridge.
Harrison	Harrison, S. J. 2017. <i>Horace Odes book II</i> , Cambridge.
K–H	Kießling, A. (rev. R. Heinze). 1957. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren</i> , 7th edn, Leipzig.
Keller–Holder	Keller, O. and Holder, A. 1899. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera</i> , vol. I: <i>Carminum libri IIII, Epodon liber, Carmen Saeculare</i> , Leipzig; 1925; vol. II: <i>Sermonum libri II, Epistularum libri II, liber De Arte Poetica</i> , Jena.

Klingner	Klingner, F. 1959. <i>Q. Horati Flacci opera</i> , 3rd edn, Leipzig.
Lambinus	Lambinus, D. 1568. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus</i> , Paris.
Lejay	Lejay, P. 1911. <i>Oeuvres d'Horace</i> , Paris.
Maclean	Maclean, A. J. 1860. <i>Quinti Horatii Flacci opera omnia</i> , New York.
Mankin	Mankin, D. 1995. <i>Horace, Epodes</i> , Cambridge.
Mayer	Mayer, R. 1994. <i>Horace Epistles book I</i> , Cambridge.
Muecke	Muecke, F. 1993. <i>Horace Satires II</i> , Warminster.
N-H	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M. 1970. <i>A commentary on Horace Odes book I</i> , Oxford; 1978. <i>A commentary on Horace, Odes book II</i> , Oxford.
N-R	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Rudd, N. 2004. <i>A commentary on Horace Odes book III</i> , Oxford.
Nilsson	Nilsson, N. O. 1952. <i>Metrische Stildifferenzen in den Satiren des Horaz</i> , Uppsala.
Orelli	Orelli, G., Baier, O. and Mewes, W. 1892. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus</i> , 4th edn, vol. II, Berlin.
Palmer	Palmer, A. 1893. <i>The Satires of Horace</i> , London.
Peerlkamp	Peerlkamp, P. H. 1863. <i>Q. Horatii Flacci Satirae</i> , Amsterdam.
Porph.	Holder, A. and Keller, O. 1894. <i>Scholia in antiqua in Q. Horatium Flaccum</i> , vol. I: <i>Porphyrio</i> , Leipzig.
Rudd	Rudd, N. 1989. <i>Horace: Epistles book II and Epistle to the Pisones ("Ars Poetica")</i> , Cambridge.
SB	Shackleton Bailey, D. R. 1991. <i>Horatius opera</i> , Stuttgart.
Schütz	Schütz, H. 1881. <i>Q. Horatius Flaccus: Satiren</i> , vol. II, Berlin.
Thomas	Thomas, R. 2011. <i>Horace Odes book IV and Carmen Saeculare</i> , Cambridge.
trans. Rudd	Rudd, N., trans. 2005. <i>Horace Satires and Epistles, Persius Satires</i> , 3rd revision of 2nd edn, London/New York.
Watson	Watson, L. 2003. <i>A commentary on Horace's Epodes</i> , Oxford.

EDITIONS, STUDIES, COMMENTARIES (OTHER AUTHORS)

Astbury	Astbury, R. 2002. <i>M. Terentius Varro Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta</i> , Leipzig.
Braund	Braund, S. M. 1996. <i>Juvenal Satires book I</i> , Cambridge.

- Condemi Condemi, A. C. 1964. *M. Terenti Varronis antiquitates rerum divinarum*, Bologna.
- Cornell Cornell, T. J. 2013. *The fragments of the Roman historians*, 3 vols., Oxford.
- Courtney Courtney, E. 1980. *A commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*, London.
- Cucchiarelli Cucchiarelli, A. 2012. *Publio Virgilio Marone, le Bucoliche* (intro. and commentary, A Cucchiarelli, with trans. Latin to Italian by A. Traina), Rome.
- Eden Eden, P. T. 1975. *A commentary on Vergil: Aeneid VIII*, Leiden; 1984. *Seneca Apocolocyntosis*, Cambridge.
- FLP Courtney, E. 1993. *The fragmentary Latin poets*, Oxford.
- Harder Harder, A. 2012. *Callimachus Aetia*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- Horsfall Horsfall, N. 2013. *Virgil "Aeneid" 6, a commentary*, vol. II, Berlin/Boston.
- Jocelyn Jocelyn, H. D. 1969. *The tragedies of Ennius*, Cambridge.
- Kenney Kenney, E. J. 1971. *Lucretius: De rerum natura book III*, Cambridge.
- Kindstrand Kindstrand, J. F. 1976. *Bion of Borysthenes* (Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 11), Upssala.
- Kissel Kissel, W. 1990. *Aules Persius Flaccus Satiren*, Heidelberg.
- Krenkel Krenkel, W. 1970. *Lucilius Satiren*, 2. vols., Leiden.
- Malherbe Malherbe, A. J. 2006. *The Cynic Epistles*, Atlanta.
- Marx Marx, F. 1904. *Lucilii carminum reliquiae*, 2 vols., Leipzig.
- McKeown McKeown, J. 1989. *Ovid: Amores. Text, prolegomena and commentary in four volumes*, vol. II: *A commentary on book one*, Leeds; 1998. *Ovid: Amores. Text, prolegomena and commentary in four volumes*, vol. II: *A commentary on book two*, Leeds.
- Mynors Mynors, G. 1990. *Virgil: Georgics* (pref. R. G. M. Nisbet), Oxford.
- Olson–Sens Olson, S. D. and Sens, A., eds. 2000. *Archestratos of Gela: Greek culture and cuisine in the fourth century BCE*, Oxford.
- Panayotakis Panayotakis, C. 2010. *Decimus Laberius: the fragments*, Cambridge.
- PLM Baehrens, E. 1848–88. *Poetae latini minores*, 4 vols., Leipzig.
- Reid Reid, J. S. 1925. *Cicero de Finibus: libri I, II*, Cambridge.

Schmeling	Schmeling, G. 2011. <i>A commentary on the Satyricon of Petronius</i> , Oxford.
Skutsch	Skutsch, O. 1985. <i>The Annals of Q. Ennius</i> , Oxford.
Thomas	Thomas, R. 1988. <i>Virgil Georgics</i> , vol. I: <i>Books I–II</i> , Cambridge; 1988. <i>Virgil Georgics</i> , vol. II: <i>Books III–IV</i> , Cambridge.
Warmington	Warmington, E. H., ed. 1967. <i>Remains of old Latin</i> , vol. III: <i>Lucilius, The twelve tables</i> , rev. edn, Cambridge, MA.

References to Latin works and authors follow the abbreviations of *OLD*. Citations of Greek works and authors follow the abbreviations of *OCD* and (in the case of items not listed in *OCD*) of *LSJ*.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text used in this volume is that of Klingner's third edition (1959), adjusted to the paragraph structure of Shackleton Bailey's 1991 Teubner edition (Klingner's text is unparagraphed), and with ample changes of punctuation and orthography throughout: nominative singulars in *-os* changed to *-us*; compound words such as *includere*, *componere* assimilated to *illudere*, *componere*; third-declension accusative plural changed from *-is* to *-es*; all forms of *siquis* separated into two words (*si quis*, *si cui*, etc.). Significant changes from Klingner's text are listed below, as well as changes in punctuation that affect meaning:

<i>locus</i>	Freudenburg	Klingner
2.5	<i>in uanis</i>	<i>insanis</i>
2.29	<i>hanc magis illa</i>	<i>hac magis illam</i>
3.12	<i>Archilocho</i>	<i>Archilochum</i>
3.132	<i>es.</i>	<i>es?</i>
3.163	brackets removed	[line bracketed]
3.208	<i>alias ueri</i>	<i>alias ueris</i>
3.212	<i>tu, prudens ... cum admittis</i>	<i>cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis</i>
3.234	<i>tu niue</i>	<i>in niue</i>
3.303	<i>abscisum</i>	<i>abscisum</i>
3.313	<i>tantum dissimilem</i>	<i>tanto dissimilem</i>
4.19	<i>mixto</i>	<i>musto</i>
6.29–31	<i>‘quid tibi uis, insane, et quare me improbus urges iratis precibus? tu pulses omne quod obstat ... recurras.’</i>	<i>‘quid tibi uis, insane?’ et ‘quam rem agis?’ improbus urget iratis precibus, ‘tu pulses omne quod obstat ... recurras.’</i>
7.62	<i>potestas?</i>	<i>potestas,</i>
7.63	<i>iustior.</i>	<i>iustior?</i>
7.67	<i>famam?</i>	<i>famam</i>
7.74	<i>Natura</i>	<i>natura</i>
7.78	<i>adde, super dictis, quod ...</i>	<i>adde super, dictis quod ...</i>
8.22	<i>quas</i>	<i>quos</i>



Map 1 The foods and luxury goods of Horace, *Sermones 2*, Mediterranean



Map 2 The foods and luxury goods of Horace, *Sermones* 2, Bay of Naples

INTRODUCTION

1 A SECOND BOOK OF *SERMONES*

Horace (hereafter “H.”) wrote the first book of his *Sermones* (“Conversations,” commonly known as “Satires”) in the aftermath of Philippi (October, 42 BCE), where he had fought on the side of Caesar’s assassins. As a military tribune under Brutus, he supported the cause of *libertas* (Republican “freedom”) against Antony and Octavian, who had taken up the deceased dictator’s cause. On 3 September, 36 BCE, in the waters off the coast of Naulochus in northeast Sicily, Octavian (with Agrippa marshalling his fleet) finished off the last of Rome’s Republican freedom fighters. In fact, both sides that day fought to free the Roman people from the “enslavement” of the other. Both had emblazoned their cause as one of filial duty (*pietas*): Sextus Pompey fighting to avenge the death of his father, Pompey the Great, and Octavian to avenge the death of his “father” (by adoption *post mortem*), Julius Caesar. Each man was trying to “out-Republican,” “out-freedom” and “out-pious” the other by killing him, along with however many thousands of his fellow Romans he needed to kill in order to get the job done. Only then, once his father’s killer had been killed, could he, the poor grieving son, declare his father successfully avenged and make his way to the barber for a long-overdue shave. For as ruinous and regrettable as this contest was, it was also confusing, bombastic, self-serving and ridiculous. It was utterly ripe for satire.

Later that same year, or early the next, H. published the first book of the *Sermones*, poems in which the cruel hypocrisies and vainglory of Rome’s recent, and ever forthcoming wars, like scenes of bloody dismemberment in a Greek tragedy, are kept decorously out of sight.¹ Not only is Naulochus not mentioned in this book, no hint of it has ever been detected. For by the time *Sermones* 1 is published (mere months after Naulochus), H. has escaped the political fray and put together a new life for himself in Rome. That is where his main focus is in the generous snippets of autobiography that he provides: not on times regrettable, bloody and turbulent, whether present, on the horizon, or in the very near past, but on the better times of his own recent success; not the battered and ruined H., but the H. who has gotten back on his feet, using his poetic

¹ On dating the *Sermones*’ first book to late 36/early 35 BCE, see DuQuesnay 1984: 20–1 and Gowers 1–5.

talents, his sharp wits and un-pushy, ironic demeanor as a means of social and financial re-integration.²

With the help of Virgil and Varius, H. was introduced to Maecenas (S. 1.6.54–5), the magnificently wealthy and stylish Etruscan whose name is now a synonym for “patron” in English, and actually is the word itself in German (*Mäzen*), Spanish (*mecenas*) and Italian (*mecenate*).³ Best known as a connoisseur of expensive luxuries and a collector of poets, Maecenas maintained Octavian’s active presence in Rome while he was away at war. His political power, though entirely unofficial, was anything but trivial. With unlimited resources at his disposal, Maecenas gathered in the best of Rome’s best (Virgil, Varius and Horace, along with a number of less famous others) and he took them on as “friends” (*amici*). For H., Maecenas was the harbor that took him in after the storm, a haven on an enemy shore. For Maecenas, H. was a rising star, a gem to be added to his collection, expertly selected to symbolize not only the exquisite quality of his aesthetic judgment, but the impressively wide reach of his, and, by extension, Octavian’s, magnanimity and *clementia*.

Like H., Lucilius, the “inventor” of the genre that H. takes up, had been a soldier, having fought under Scipio at Numantia in 135–133 BCE. Unlike H., Lucilius returned from his war a winner, exceedingly wealthy, and with nothing to regret. Although it cannot be known, it is likely that he paraded in Scipio’s Numantine triumph of 132 – the triumphant general was a close, personal friend. Upon his return to Rome (here once again H. resembles him), Lucilius began writing satire. That is where the similarities end. In his *Satires* (originally published in thirty books, from which nearly 1,300 fragments survive), Lucilius speaks openly about his days in Scipio’s army, and the wars they fought together, against foes foreign and far away. He writes not just as a winner, but like a winner, penning satires that sound the part. In contrast, the autobiographical poems that form the center of Horace’s first book of *Sermones* (4, 5 and 6), thereby emphasizing the centrality of autobiography to the form itself, tell of the poet’s early years as a student in Rome, under the watchful eye of his father, a south Italian farmer who had once been a slave, and who was eager to see his son claim a better life for himself (1.4.103–31, 1.6.71–99). H. tells of his introduction to Maecenas in 39/38 BCE, the interview where he

² For the possibility that H. served in some military capacity in Octavian’s war against Sextus Pompey in 36, and perhaps also again against Antony in 31, see N–H, vol. I: xxvii and N–R *ad Carm.* 3.4.28 *nec Sicula Palinurus unda*.

³ For a recent summary of Maecenas’ personal and political career, see Gowers 2017.

said little, but was up front about his having fought on the losing side at Philippi (1.6.45–64). He describes his travels in the great man's entourage in 37 (1.5), and the worry-free new life that he now lives in Rome, as an Epicurean who has seen the error of his youthful ways (1.6.104–31). The genre of satire, to which these *Sermones* belong, is remarkably forthcoming with details about the poet's own life (Juvenal is the genre's one notorious exception to this rule). Such forthcoming-ness about oneself, giving flesh and a history to the voice, is both an aspect of, and a way of instantiating, the genre's signature *libertas*. But the three to four years that separate the poet's personal disaster at Philippi in late 42 from his initial introduction to Maecenas in late 39/early 38 are a locked box; years that have gone missing from this satirist's (otherwise quite detailed) life. One insignificant event, apparently from his days as a soldier in Brutus' army, is sported with in *Sermones* 1.7, and some have spied political violence lurking in the shadows of 1.8.⁴ But in neither poem does the poet draw any explicit connections to his own life.

With the poetic form that H. had inherited from Lucilius came expectations of Greek *parrhesia* (literally "telling all") and Latin *libertas* ("freedom of speech"). But in this "tell all" genre, as H. chose to reformulate it, the emphasis in the *Sermones'* first book is on the need to curtail and to refrain from telling all: Epicurean contentment (routinely cast in terms of self-"containment"), aesthetic refinement, artful dodging and culturally decorous rescission are H.'s new way of expressing the genre. All are mutually entailed, each an expression of the other. As remade by H., satire is a genre where silences must be maintained, and where silences speak loudly. One must listen for them. The title of the work, the *Sermones*, is itself a way of not saying *Saturae*. H. hints at the more obvious title at the end of *Sermones* 1.1 (in the famous *satis/satura* pun of lines 119–20, and perhaps again in the "Satureian horse" of 1.6.59), but he does not say it. The connotations of *Sermones* ("Conversations") are far more sociable and unthreatening than are those conveyed by the term *Saturae*. Thanks to Lucilius, that title was loaded with jarring connotations: verbal aggression, political wrangling, bold self-assertion, caustic wit. Not until the first line of the *Sermones'* second book does H. refer to his poems as satires, but even there he holds the designation at arm's length by assigning it to certain unnamed others who had disparaged his poems as "overly harsh." The term belongs to their language of disparagement and contributes to it, even as it is used by H., for the first time, to name his poems "Satires."

⁴ On recent Republican violence darkening the laughter, and defying the surface triviality, of *Sermones* 1.7 and 1.8, see Gowers 250–2 and 263–5.

Whereas the first book of the *Sermones* charts the poet's movement toward establishing a new life for himself in Rome in the aftermath of Philippi, the second book describes him living a life that is, by now, five or six years further on, fully established: plush with creature comforts (a new villa in the Sabine hills, luxurious dinners, famous friends, etc.), but not quite what he was after. The idea that one might re-write satire as H. had done in the first book of *Sermones*, that is as an expression of Epicurean values, detached from the world of politics and focused on the project of the poet's own inner contentment, was always a curious stretch for the genre that Lucilius had invented. For Lucilius, writing was a form of fighting – this, at least, is the odd and partial (but, regarding his reception, the most lasting) impression left by the collection's important lead books: 26 and 27, the first two books of the early polymetric collection, and 1 and 2, the first two books of the hexametric satires.⁵ In these introductory books, Lucilius goes after the powerful, the corrupt, the self-serving and ridiculous. He goes to the forum both to take in and *take part in* the wranglings of Roman political life: the heavenly *concilium* of book 1 (Lucil. frs. 1–46W) is crafted as a contentious meeting of the senate, with individual gods playing the roles of known senators. The famous censorial speech of Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus promoting marriage is sent up in book 26. The botched trial of the corrupt governor of Asia, Quintus Mucius Scaevola, is the farce of book 2. And so on. For Lucilius, the posturing, deceit and nest-feathering that took place in the Roman forum was the standard grist of his satiric mill; cf. the famous, and unusually long “battle of the forum” fragment (1145–51W = 1228–34M), best assigned to the heavenly corruption trial of *Satires* 1.⁶

For his part, and in clear contrast to what Lucilius had done, H. keeps his distance from the political fray. He goes to the forum only twice in his *Sermones*: first book: in 1.6 he “meanders through” the forum after hours (*uespertinumque pererro* | *saepe forum*, *Sermones* 1.6.113–14). There he looks in on the soothsayers before heading home for a meal of chick-peas and leeks. He has no particular business there, and nothing of any significance to report. At that hour, there are no politicians in sight. In 1.9, however, he makes the rather large mistake of entering the forum during working hours. There, as he ambles through while rehearsing a

⁵ On the early publication history of Lucilius' *Satires* that accounts for their odd numeration (books 26–30, in fact, being the earliest poems in the entire collection), see Gratwick 1982: 168–9 and Warmington xx–xxiv.

⁶ A compelling case for assigning Lucilius' “battle of the forum” fragment to book 1 of the *Satires* is made by Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1990.

poem, he is latched onto by a power-hungry aspiring poet who has spotted him as prey. Troping their encounter as a drawn-out battle that H. is too unwarlike to fight, H. is forced to endure the man's aggressive and unrelenting sales pitch until, at the poem's end, both men are hauled into court where neither of them wants to be. By this point, near the end of the first book, H.'s newfound success is spied exacting a cost. Everyone wants a piece of him now that he is a well-connected minor celebrity. In the first book the cost that the poet pays for his newfound, and quite remarkable success, is calculated in terms of envious stares and taunts endured in *Sermones* 1.6 (45–8), and the waste of a single bad day in *Sermones* 1.9. However, in the second book the envious stares are keener, and what had been a single bad day has now become the poet's entire life. In *Sermones* 2.6 he describes the whole of his average day consumed by obligations that need to be attended to: a constant, onerous back-and-forth between Maecenas' Esquiline mansion and the forum, then off to the Campus Martius to endure the envious stares that are directed at him in the company of his great friend. By this point, the poem suggests, H. has no privacy, no free time, no life of his own. Owing to Octavian's victory at Actium, he is no longer a minor celebrity. He is a major one. The son of a freed slave now consorts with the gods. Whether he wants it or not, the Epicurean "ambler" and escapist, once so happy with chickpeas and leeks, now wields significant political power.

Besides offering a full and comically bitter exploration of his life in 2.6, H. provides further details about his south Italian background in 2.1, and matters touching on his current life are folded into the dialogue at the beginning and end of both 2.2 and 2.3. *Sermones* 2.7 reveals scandalous life details that hover somewhere between lurid biographical exposé (they are described not by H., but by his eavesdropping slave, Davus), autobiography (H. writes the poem wherein Davus describes his life) and comic fiction (both H. and his slave occupy obvious comic roles). But the great bulk of the second book finds H. not talking about himself, but letting others have their say. Whereas the predominant narratological mode of *Sermones* 1 was that of conversationally peppered "live" monologue and story-telling, with two poems addressed to Maecenas (1.1 and 1.6), and the eight remaining poems to no one in particular (1.2–5, 7–10), in *Sermones* 2 the predominant mode is that of "live" conversation that readers listen in on in secret. In the so-called "diatribe satires" of the first book (1.1–3), formal conversational features function as devices for steering the conversation in certain directions. Out of the blue, fictive interlocutors interrupt and pose silly objections, only to disappear until needed again. The satires of the second book are conversations in a more obvious sense.

This is not to say that the individual satires of *Sermones* 2 are evenly balanced in the conversations they give us to overhear, or that they are always easy to account for as conversations. In five of the poems, H. cedes the floor to interlocutors who have much wisdom to convey (2.2–4, 2.7), or a great story to tell (2.8). His own role as a conversation partner tends to be pushed to the edges of beginning and end by persons who are bursting with things that they want to say. In *Sermones* 2.3, the second longest poem in the Horatian corpus, the initial conversation gives way to an inset moral sermon of more than 200 lines, and turn-taking is similarly minimized in other poems (2, 4, 7) where all-knowing preachers hold forth on issues that are dear to their hearts and that, they are convinced, their listener(s) desperately need to hear. Nodding toward the *Odes*,⁷ *Sermones* 2.6 has the form of a mock-lyrical soliloquy (self-conversation), and yet it hints at having a specific addressee: a case of satiric content conveyed through the poem's unique form (see the introductory essay to 2.6 below). The two poems of the book that most accurately convey the idea of conversation are 2.1 and 2.5, both of which feature interlocutors who seek advice from experts (H. from Trebatius in 2.1, and Odysseus from Tiresias in 2.5), and where both experts and advisees take frequent turns listening and speaking.

The opening lines of book 2 deliver a surprise: they seem, at first glance, to situate readers in familiar territory, with the satirist taking up where he had left off in *Sermones* 1.10, by having yet another go at his detractors. But the vocative form *Trebatī* (“oh, Trebatius”) at the end of the fourth line causes one to rethink and recalibrate what one has just read. Only here does one suddenly realize that the old narratological premises of the first book no longer apply: the satirist is not speaking directly to his readers, as he had done so often in the first book, but to a character inside the poem. Readers of this poem, and of all that follow in the second book (including 2.6, which is only “somewhat” an exception to this), find themselves differently placed in their relationship to the speaking that happens on the page, pushed just a bit farther out from conversations that they are given to hear. This is a book where readers are no longer being talked to. Rather, they are listening in, treated to a series of miniature dramas where

⁷ As H. writes *Sermones* 2, he is already at work on his *Odes*, and his *Epodes* (the earliest of which appear to date to the mid-thirties) are on the verge of being published as a completed work. For the relevance of these “other” works to H.’s second book of *Sermones*, see Freudenburg 2006 and nn. below at 1.18, 48, 2.104, 3.11–12, 3.23–5, 6.2, 17–23, 51, 93, 7.95–101, 8.94–5. For the possibility that some odes were written as early as 35 BCE and that many were written between 35 and 30, see N–H, vol. I: xxviii–xxx.

the satirist chooses to stay in character, and where he does not look out toward his readers, the way that poets of Greek Old Comedy do in their *parabases*, and say “the point I’m making to all of you out there is this.” As such, these conversations leave readers significant work to do, because whatever point they might be thought to make about whatever the talk concerns must be ferreted out, and decided upon, by readers themselves. Even the animal fable of *Sermones* 2.6 lacks the usual moral tag at the end to tell us what it means. Whatever moral(s) we are to take from it we must supply for ourselves.

2 *FABULA DE TE NARRATUR*: SATIRE AND SELF-IRONY IN *SERMONES* 2

Much of the talk that one overhears in *Sermones* 2 issues from the mouths of zealots who push their way forward and speak emphatically for their cause. They are easy to peg as know-it-alls whose narrow fanaticism and lack of cultural scruples speak for themselves. But to identify them as the self-satirizing targets of these poems, happily hoist by their own petard, hardly catches the whole of what they do. It takes him a while, but the Stoic preacher Damasippus, the biggest talker of the entire book, finds H.’s weak spot near the end of 2.3 (307–26), when he scolds him for his stylish mode of conspicuous consumption as the owner of a new luxury villa, and for his eagerness to keep up appearances and to stay toe-to-toe with his patron, Maecenas. It turns out that Damasippus himself had once cared deeply about these same things: before the bankruptcy that brought about his near suicide and his conversion to Stoicism, he had been a real estate baron, a style consultant and buyer of luxury goods for Rome’s *nouveaux riches*. By the time the fiction of *Sermones* 2.3 kicks in, not only is he “done with all that” *because of* his bankruptcy, that is done with expensive luxuries because he can no longer afford them. Rather, according to his new way of viewing and valuing reality, his bankruptcy, the “disaster” that brought about the loss not only of all of his property, but of his friends and of the high status that he had enjoyed as an expert in matters of stylish consumption, was the best thing that ever happened to him. Losing all he had caused him to find a new kind of security in himself, rather than in the trappings of Roman “success.”

The question then is: is Damasippus really so altogether ridiculous? Easily spotted as the butt of the joke, is the point that he is to be chided with a knowing laugh for being so unlike the stylish satirist to whom he speaks, and for being so out of step with what matters to H. and to Maecenas, men whom we are to consider worth admiring? Or is he rather (perhaps “also”) to be admired for having put his life back together after

all was lost, for requiring no wealthy patron to put him back on his feet, for having found resources for his recovery inside himself and, perhaps most importantly, for no longer caring what others think? His newfound happiness in the aftermath of his personal disaster is not in question. But that of H. certainly is. What is true of Damasippus in 2.3 might be said of Ofellus in 2.2, an old Italian farmer, rough around the edges, and terribly funny for being so antediluvian in his attitudes and so unstylish in his ways (even praising the virtues of rancid pork!, 89–92). Like H., he had lost his farm in the land confiscations after Philippi. And yet, amazingly, he does not care. The loss has not affected him in any meaningful way. Happy with the basic “enough” that nature requires, and contemptuous of fortune’s cruel whims, he lives the same life that he has always lived. His is the detached and unassailable Epicurean life that H. has been talking about since the first lines of *Sermones* 1.1; the life he talks about, but cannot seem to live.

The obvious targets of these poems are merely low-hanging fruit. The better apples are higher up and much harder to reach. Circling back to Damasippus, he knows that his shaggy beard looks ridiculous, but he does not care. To point at the man’s shaggy beard and judge him shaggily bearded (or overly zealous, rhetorically overblown, stylistically sloppy, and so on) can hardly be the point. To borrow an analogy that Persius draws near the end of his programmatic first satire, to peg Damasippus overblown and inept is to taunt a one-eyed man for having one eye (*sordidus et lusco qui possit dicere “Lusce!”* “and the bottom-dweller who says ‘hey there, One-eye!’ to a one-eyed man,” Pers. 1.128). That is neither the whole, nor is it even remotely the best, of what H. is doing with the book’s ongoing parade of odd and self-assured characters, from Ofellus in 2.2 to Nasidienus in 2.8, all so free with advice because they are so passionate about what they know, and so happy with who they are. H. did a lot of self-assured moral preaching of his own in the first book, and those earlier performances are repeatedly brought to mind in *Sermones* 2, in intensified versions that serve not only to mark off differences between (sensible) H. and the (unpolished, unbalanced) characters he creates, but to locate and amplify the absurd potentials of what H. has been treating us to all along. Put simply, to hear H. “in them” finds us re-hearing H. “as them.” They are instruments of retrospection and self-irony: a way of hearing him differently.

This can be said not only of the book’s several moral preachers, but of its Epicurean culinary gurus, Catius in 2.4 and Nasidienus in 2.8, whose enthusiasms, stylistic tenets and metaphorical conceits in many cases rhyme powerfully with those espoused by H. himself, as well as with those

of certain prominent others whose company he keeps: Maecenas and the meticulously fussy poets of his circle. Like comically warped images that peer out from a funhouse mirror, the many “mock Horace” figures of *Sermones* 2 function as absurdist refractions of their creator and of those who stand alongside him to peer in and laugh. Even the comically venal Odysseus of 2.5 bears certain highly specific resemblances to H. that invite us to see the satirist wickedly reimagined in the character he creates. Both men, Odysseus in Homer’s myth and H. in his actual life, have had their ancestral estates overrun by others while away at war. Both strive to put their lives back together and to recover what they have lost. For as comically venal and darkly driven as Odysseus is in 2.5, his quest touches on things very real in the lives of countless Romans returning from war. Instead of urging the wily hero to craft a plan to dispel the suitors, Tiresias advises him (11–14) to get with the Roman times by snaring a big patron and playing him for all he is worth. That, Tiresias insists, is how Odysseus will recover what he has lost.

In the first lines of *Sermones* 2.6, H. expresses his heartfelt thanks to his patron, as to a god, for his new villa in the Sabine hills (on *Maia nate* and *Matutinus* as sonic stand-ins for *Maecenas*, see 5 and 20 nn.). The transition from 2.5 (“shamelessly grease a gullible patron and riches will come your way”) to 2.6 (“thank you, rich patron, for my magnificent new home”) is abrupt, and produces a wicked analogy. For the briefest of passing moments (this is not an allegorical key, but a momentary intimation), it prompts us to take a comically dim view of the highly idealized, and always deeply mystified, relationships of Maecenas to his poets. In fact, *Sermones* 2.5 treats us to the sounds of known poetic flatteries on several occasions. At least two of these are easy to identify: infelicitous lines of Furius Bibaculus’ *Annales Belli Gallici* are mocked in lines 39–41, and the adulatory sounds of Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue* play inside lines 62–4 (see the relevant nn.). Both poets, the one a favorite target of H.’s satiric barbs (Furius is derided as a “poet for pay” already at 2.1.12–15) and the other his close friend, can be heard supplying background music to Odysseus’ nefarious schemes.

Already in the first poem of the *Sermones*’ first book, H. warned readers to be wary of laughing too glibly at the tales he tells: *quid rides? mutato nomine de te | fabula narratur* (“what are you laughing at? Change the name and this story is about you,” *Sermones* 1.1.69–70). Easy targets, such as Furius Bibaculus, lure us in to laugh. But as we float along on that laughter we suddenly come to realize that others are implied as well: often it is we ourselves. To find Maecenas’ star poets, H. and Virgil (the Quintus and Publius of 5.32?), as well as the great patron himself, implied by the

“flattery for pay” arrangements of the fifth poem is satirically trenchant, certainly. But it is not necessarily to find out who they all really are. Rather, it is to be induced to reimagine the relationships that bind them, the fabulously rich patron to his fabulously enriched poets, in the bluntest of Roman terms, and exactly as uncharitable others (or are they to be considered bluntly honest others?) were wont to see them.

3 STRUCTURE, PLOT AND TIME IN *SERMONES* 2

The rough transition from 2.5 to 2.6 is a case of structural arrangement that produces a satiric effect. Importantly, it is the linear arrangement of the poems, that is their being read in sequence, that matters in this case, not the balanced architectural spans that reach across entire poems or groups of poems to structure the book as a whole. Those larger, non-linear arrangements were well explored by F. Boll in 1913, who divided the book into interlaced halves: poems 1 and 5 are consultations; 2 and 6 treat country themes; 3 and 7 feature Stoics preaching during the Saturnalia; 4 and 8 feature Epicurean culinary experts. Boll’s study was subsequently expanded and refined by Ludwig 1968, who identified a more complex set of balances operating within Boll’s overall frame. In introducing the structural patterns of *Sermones* 2, Muecke 1993: 8–9 takes things in a new direction by identifying a series of “significant contrasts” that crop up as we read the poems in their numerical sequence, such as the jolting transition from 2.5 to 2.6 (just mentioned), and a similar rough transition from 2.6 to 2.7, as the idealized rustic dream of H. gives way to Davus undercutting that dream by describing it as a hypocritical pose. All of these proximate transitions produce satiric effects by setting things side-by-side that are hard to square. One sees this already in the first poem, which ends with H. establishing that he has nothing to fear in speaking his mind, giving us to think that he intends to speak forthrightly, in ways that might offend persons in power. He then promptly proceeds to do nothing of the sort, instead letting an old Italian farmer have his say on the virtues of a simple rustic diet (*nec meus hic sermo est* “this talk isn’t mine,” *Sermones* 2.2.2).

Whereas the larger architectural links help us appreciate the book as a structured whole, it is in reading the poems sequentially that one actually experiences the book developing into that whole.⁸ As part of the process of reading sequentially, one senses a gradual progression through time,

⁸ In his pioneering study of the “structure of ambiguity” in *Sermones* 1, Zetzel 1980: 64 argues that “the major structure of a book like the *Satires* or *Eclogues* is simply the order of the poems and the changing impressions made by each

from very early to very late, as if one were tagging along with H. through the experiences of a long Roman day. The first poem, though it does not specify the time when the conversation between H. and Trebatius takes place, is understood to be set at the crack of dawn, the ungodly early hour when juriconsults met their advisees (see 1.4 n.), and the second is a late-morning, pre-lunch (*impransi* 2.7) harangue. The third poem opens with Damasippus bursting in on H. and scolding him for sleeping the day away (in the remake of Persius' third satire, the time is set at the fifth hour, *quinta umbra*, Pers. 3.4), and the fourth finds Catius racing home after the day's lecture has finished (1–3). In the satire's Platonic model, the conversation takes place in the heat of midday (*Phdr.* 229a–b). The fifth poem is outside of time, though it is well placed to mark a spot roughly near the middle of an overall journey (perhaps giving us to think that this will be a book of ten poems rather than eight), and the sixth poem, as Reckford 1997 has pointed out, provides an hourly account of H.'s grinding routine in the city – from the crack of dawn to the end of the business day, followed by exercises in the Campus Martius – and it ends with a story told over dinner, about a dinner cut short by a surprise intrusion.

The most memorable time marker in the seventh poem is the description of H. receiving a last-minute dinner summons from Maecenas, already after dark, and the last poem describes a dinner party that starts early but goes deep into the night until, at long last, the diners have had enough, and they decide to leave. It is on that note that H. puts an end to his career as a satirist: with dinner guests abruptly getting up to leave. Their departure (the book's second instance of a dinner party ending abruptly rather than as planned) signals H.'s farewell to the genre by recalling the *convivia satur* analogy that brought *Sermones* 1.1 to a close, just as the beginning of *Sermones* 2.1 recalls the beginning of *Sermones* 1.10, and the end of *Sermones* 2.1 recalls the end of *Sermones* 1.10 (see the relevant notes *ad loc.*).⁹ Beginnings and ends of the first book collaborate in setting the beginnings and ends of the second.

Besides wrapping up the poet's career *qua* satirist, by referring us back to where it all started in *Sermones* 1.1, the book's last line refers to another end that serves as a temporal sign off (a closural time stamp) for the book itself: the death of Cleopatra (see 8.94–5 n.). If accepted as valid, the

in relation to what has come before." For a similar "sequentialist" analysis of the *Epodes*, indebted to Zetzel and equally revealing, see Cucchiarelli 2007.

⁹ On the guests' sudden departure as a reference to the *convivia satur* image of 1.1.117–21, see Gowers 1993: 161.

allusion fixes the publication date of the *Sermones*' second book some time after Cleopatra's suicide on August 12, 30 BCE. Otherwise the book's latest historical references are those of 2.6.53–6, where an unnamed interlocutor asks H. to divulge what he knows about the Dacian threat, and the resettlement of veterans after Actium, political issues that were especially worrying and as yet unresolved in late 31/early 30 BCE, when both Antony and Cleopatra were defeated, but still alive and potentially dangerous. Agrippa's curule aedileship of 33 BCE is referred to at 2.3.181–6, putting the gift of the Sabine villa in that year, or late 34.

The book's first poem announces that Rome's civil wars, artfully brushed up as foreign wars, have ended once and for all (yet again). There, after the satirist explains the legal problems that he faces as a writer of satire, his legal adviser, Trebatius, suggests that H. might want to consider using Octavian's victory at Actium (September 2, 31 BCE) as a reason to take his poetic talents into other, safer, less combative and more lucrative directions, such as panegyric epic, like that of Furius, or perhaps something along the lines of some of Lucilius' friendlier satires. Built into this advice is an unstated critical premise: that satire and civil strife are not merely analogous (the soldier fighting with his sword, the satirist with his pen, a metaphor fully explored in the conversation of *Sermones* 2.1), they are symbiotic. Even as they rise and thrive together, so must they end together. Seen with this in mind, the reference to Cleopatra's suicide in the book's final line, if it is there (I think it is), does more than just mark time. With it, one can hear the satirist excusing himself for leaving the party early, stating his reason for needing to make his escape (only eight poems in, and without further ado) as he heads out the door: "now that she has breathed her last, so must I." Canidia's foul breath (*Canidia afflasset*, 8.94) helps make this point by ending the *Sermones* on a note of "sweet things" (*suaues res*, 92) turning foul, marking the exact tipping point where satiety gives rise to disgust (*satis* slipping into *satur*).¹⁰ Besides indicating that the book ends exactly where it needs to end, the allusion to Canidia also points ahead to the unfinished business of the *Epodes*, where it is she who will have the final say.¹¹ The end of that book will collaborate with the end of this one.

¹⁰ On the paradox of satiety, even when it concerns things that are sought after and considered highly pleasing, giving rise to disgust, see Kaster 2005: 105–29.

¹¹ On the reference to Canidia's foul breath pointing ahead to the *Epodes*, see Cucchiarelli 2001: 152–4.

4 MANUSCRIPTS, SCHOLIA AND THE TEXT OF
SERMONES 2

No manuscripts of Horace's works survive from antiquity, whether of the entire Horatian corpus or any smaller selection of poems.¹² The earliest surviving manuscripts of Horace's works (usually containing selected poems rather than the complete works) date from the ninth century CE, and they survive in far greater numbers from the two centuries that follow, the period once dubbed by Ludwig Traube the *aetas Horatiana*.¹³ Most modern editions of Horace's works are based on a relatively small number of these early MSS, and they rely most heavily on roughly 16–20 of them (out of a group of more than 250) that have come to be considered the most important. Lists of these manuscripts, with short Latin descriptions of their contents, scripts, histories, and their respective *sigla*, can be found in the prefaces of Klingner and Shackleton Bailey (SB). For much fuller descriptions in English of the principal manuscripts, see Brink 1971: 2–11, and for a more extensive list of manuscripts fully described (in Latin), see Keller–Holder, vol. I: v–lxxx.

The two most important modern editions of Horace's works are those of Klingner and SB, both of whom rely on the same smallish set of MSS (with some minor deviations between them) and refer to them by the same *sigla* (standard since the magisterial edition of Keller–Holder). These two editions are the best now available, and they represent radically opposed approaches to the task of editing the works of a classical author. Klingner hews closely to the evidence of the manuscripts, rarely departing from it, even when the best of the (often many) possibilities that the MSS offer is artless, difficult to construe and/or out of keeping with what the context seems to demand. Only occasionally does he accept emendations proposed by previous editors, and his own emendations are remarkably few. SB, on the other hand, is rich in emendations, both of his own formulation, as well as those of certain preferred editors, especially Bentley who rates his own *siglum* ("B") in SB's apparatus – as if corrections proposed by Bentley were somehow on a par with the evidence of the manuscripts themselves.

¹² Important recent studies of the prehistory of the text are Tarrant 2016b (on the *tituli* of individual poems, interpolations and the order of works) and Courtney 2013b (deriving the earliest extant manuscripts from a single source in antiquity that split into two families).

¹³ Traube 1911: 113.

For a thorough and insightful study of the merits and shortcomings of these two editions, each of which is excellent in its own way, see Tarrant 2016a. Tarrant's own OCT edition of Horace's complete works is well under way and, by now, much anticipated. From several articles written in advance of its publication (Tarrant 1983, 2016a, 2016b), it appears that Tarrant's forthcoming OCT will rely on a much wider set of manuscripts (including some later specimens neglected by earlier editors), provide a fuller and more straightforward apparatus (currently the best apparatus in terms of its fullness is that of Bo) and, most importantly, steer a course between Klingner's resolute security in the manuscript evidence and SB's somewhat cavalier attitude toward it. I fully expect that the appearance of this text will produce new possibilities for valid readings of some, if not many, lines of *Sermones* 2.¹⁴ That said, it has twice been pointed out by Tarrant himself that "the text of Horace has been well preserved: ancient variants are not excessively numerous, interpolated verses are rare ... and the indirect tradition offers no certainly correct reading not found in the medieval manuscripts."¹⁵ The second book of the *Sermones* has almost no big textual problems, but a fair number of small ones (I have proposed only one emendation of my own at 6.29, a verse that is notoriously problematic). In the commentary below, I discuss the pros and cons of the manuscript evidence, of choices made by editors and of emendations proposed by them, in ways that will allow one to see how the line(s) in question might, often quite reasonably, be taken differently.

Further evidence for both the textual tradition of Horace's *Sermones*, and for the way that the poems were taught by Roman grammarians in the schools of Late Antiquity (if not earlier), can be derived from the scholia of Porphyrio and [Acro], as well as from a third set of scholia that were transcribed from four manuscripts (primarily V) that were consulted by Jacobus Cruquius at the monastery of Mont Blandin near Ghent shortly before its destruction by fire in 1566. These scholia are commonly

¹⁴ Upon my request, Professor Tarrant graciously provided me (*per litteras*) with a short list of places where he is likely to depart from Klingner's text, along with a brief rationale for each departure. These suggestions proved extremely valuable in helping me decide between options, especially in those cases where the choice of a reading has a noticeable effect on sense. I am deeply grateful for his generosity in sharing his hard-won insights with me.

¹⁵ Tarrant 1983: 185, restated with slight qualifications at Tarrant 2016a: 300.

referred to as the Commentator Cruquianus.¹⁶ All three of these sources contain valuable information *passim*, some of which dates back perhaps as far as 200 CE. But they must all be used with great caution because they represent compilations of notes that accrued to texts of Horace that were used in the schools over many centuries, often well into the medieval period, and they contain a great deal of guesswork (often mere extrapolations from the text), and they provide information that is, at times, obviously wrong, but more often it is neither terribly interesting nor useful. If there is one main problem with using the scholiasts of Horace as a source for the study of his poems today, it is that they tend to answer the questions of an early medieval schoolboy rather than those that readers are now asking. Reading their comments on Horace alongside those of Servius on Virgil causes one to appreciate just how intellectually curious and brilliant Servius was.

¹⁶ As pointed out by N-H, vol. I: li, the notes compiled by Cruquius (first printed in his edition of 1611, where they were assigned to a “ghost figure” known as the “Commentator Cruquianus”) are merely an amalgam of marginalia drawn from printed editions of [Acro] and Porphyrio, and of notes taken from Renaissance commentators, such as Lambinus. All the ancient materials that they contain were already available from other sources.

Q. HORATI FLACCI
SERMONVM LIBER SECVNDVS

Q. HORATI FLACCI SERMONVM LIBER SECVNDVS

I

“Sunt quibus in satura uidear nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus; sine neruis altera quidquid
composui pars esse putat similesque meorum
mille die uersus deduci posse. Trebati,
quid faciam? praescribe.”

“quiescas.”

“ne faciam, inquis, 5

omnino uersus?”

“aio.”

“peream male, si non
optimum erat; uerum nequeo dormire.”

“ter uncti

transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude 10
Caesaris inuicti res dicere, multa laborum
praemia laturus.”

“cupidum, pater optime, uires
deficiunt; neque enim quiuis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntes cuspidē Gallos
aut labentis equo describit uulnera Parthi.” 15
“attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.”

“haud mihi dero,
cum res ipsa feret: nisi dextro tempore Flacci
uerba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem:
cui male si palpare, recalcitrat undique tutus.” 20

“quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere uersu
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit.”

“quid faciam? saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
accessit feruor capiti numerusque lucernis; 25
Castor gaudet equis, ouo prognatus eodem
pugnis; quot capitum uiuunt, totidem studiorum
milia: me pedibus delectat claudere uerba

Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
 ille uelut fidis arcana sodalibus olim 30
 credebat libris neque, si male cesserat, usquam
 decurrens alio neque, si bene; quo fit ut omnis
 uotiuā pateat ueluti descripta tabella
 uita senis. sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps;
 nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus, 35
 missus ad hoc pulsus, uetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
 quo ne per uacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
 siue quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
 incuteret uiolenta. sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
 quemquam animantem et me ueluti custodiet ensis 40
 uagina tectus: quem cur destringere coner
 tutus ab infestis latronibus? o pater et rex
 Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum
 nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille,
 qui me commorit—melius non tangere, clamo—, 45
 flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
 Ceruius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,
 Canidia Albuci, quibus est inimica, uenenum,
 grande malum Turius, si quid se iudice certes.
 ut quo quisque ualet suspectos terreat utque 50
 imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum:
 dente lupus, cornu taurus petit: unde nisi intus
 monstratum? Scaeuae uiuacem crede nepoti
 matrem: nil faciet sceleris pia dextera—mirum,
 ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos—, 55
 sed mala tollet anum uitiatō melle cicuta.
 ne longum faciam: seu me tranquilla senectus
 exspectat seu mors atris circumuolat alis,
 diues, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit, exsul,
 quisquis erit uitae scribam color.”
 “o puer, ut sis 60
 uitalis metuo et maiorum ne quis amicus
 frigore te feriat.”
 “quid? cum est Lucilius ausus
 primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem
 detrahare et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
 cederet, introrsum turpis: num Laelius aut qui 65
 duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen
 ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello

famosisque Lupo cooperto uersibus? atqui
 primores populi arripuit populumque tributum,
 scilicet uni aequus Virtuti atque eius amicis. 70
 quin ubi se a uulgo et scaena in secreta remorant
 uirtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
 nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
 decoqueretur holus, soliti. quidquid sum ego, quamuis
 infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me 75
 cum magnis uixisse inuita fatebitur usque
 Inuidia et fragili quaerens illidere dentem
 offendet solido—nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
 dissentis.”

“equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum.
 sed tamen ut monitus caueas, ne forte negoti 80
 incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
 si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
 iudiciumque.”

“esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis
 iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis
 opprobriis dignum latrauerit, integer ipse?” 85
 “soluentur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.”

II

Quae uirtus et quanta, boni, sit uiuere paruo
 —nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
 rusticus, abnormi sapiens crassaque Minerua—,
 discite non inter lances mensasque nitentes,
 cum stupet in uanis acies fulgoribus et cum 5
 acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
 uerum hic impransi mecum disquirite. cur hoc?
 dicam, si potero.

male uerum examinat omnis
 corruptus iudex. leporem sectatus equoue
 lassus ab indomito uel, si Romana fatigat 10
 militia assuetum graecari—seu pila uelox
 molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
 seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco:
 cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
 sperne cibum uilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno 15
 ne biberis diluta. foris est promus, et atrum

defendens pisces hiemat mare: cum sale panis
 latrantem stomachum bene leniet. unde putas aut
 qui partum? non in caro nidore uoluptas
 summa, sed in te ipso est. tu pulmentaria quaere 20
 sudando: pinguem uitii albumque neque ostrea
 nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuuare lagois.
 uix tamen eripiam, posito pauone uelis quin
 hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
 corruptus uanis rerum, quia ueneat auro 25
 rara auis et picta pandat spectacula cauda:
 tamquam ad rem attineat quidquam. num uesceris ista,
 quam laudas, pluma? cocto num adest honor idem?
 carne tamen quamuis distat nil, hanc magis illa
 imparibus formis deceptum te petere! esto: 30
 unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
 captus hiet? pontesne inter iactatus an amnis
 ostia sub Tusci? laudas, insane, trilibrem
 mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
 ducit te species, uideo: quo pertinet ergo 35
 proceros odisse lupos? quia scilicet illis
 maiorem natura modum dedit, his breue pondus:
 ieunus raro stomachus uulgaria temnit.
 “porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
 uellem” ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. at uos 40
 praesentes, Austri, coquite horum obsonia. quamquam
 putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
 aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
 atque acidus mauult inulas. necdum omnis abacta
 pauperies epulis regum: nam uilibus ouis 45
 nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. haud ita pridem
 Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
 infamis. quid? tunc rhombos minus aequor alebat?
 tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido,
 donec uos auctor docuit praetorius. ergo 50
 si quis nunc mergos suaues edixerit assos,
 parebit prauis docilis Romana iuuentus.
 sordidus a tenui uictu distabit Ofello
 iudice: nam frustra uitium uitaueris illud,
 si te alio prauum detorseris. Auidienus, 55
 cui “Canis” ex uero dictum cognomen adhaeret,

quinquennes oleas est et siluestria corna
 ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere uinum et
 cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit
 ille repotia, natales aliosue dierum 60
 festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri
 caulibus instillat, ueteris non parcus aceti.
 quali igitur uictu sapiens utetur et horum
 utrum imitabitur? hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
 mundus erit, qua non offendant sordibus atque 65
 in neutram partem cultus miser. hic neque seruis,
 Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
 saeuus erit, nec sic ut simplex Naeuius unctam
 conuiuis praebebit aquam: uitium hoc quoque magnum.
 accipe nunc, uictus tenuis quae quantaque secum 70
 afferat. in primis ualeas bene; nam uariae res
 ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae,
 quae simplex olim tibi sederit. at simul assis
 miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
 dulcia se in bilem uertent stomachoque tumultum 75
 lenta feret pituita. uides, ut pallidus omnis
 cena desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
 hesternis uitiiis animum quoque praegrauat una
 atque affigit humo diuinae particulam aerae.
 alter ubi dicto citius curata sopori 80
 membra dedit, uegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
 hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
 siue diem festum rediens aduexerit annus,
 seu recreare uolet tenuatum corpus, ubique
 accedent anni, tractari mollius aetas 85
 imbecilla uolet: tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
 quam puer et ualidus praesumis mollitiem, seu
 dura uoletudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?
 rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
 illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes 90
 tardius adueniens uitiatum commodius quam
 integrum edax dominus consumeret. hos utinam inter
 heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset.
 das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem
 occupet humanam? grandes rhombi patinaeque 95
 grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus. adde

iratum patrum, uicinos, te tibi iniquum
 et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
 as, laquei pretium. "iure" inquit "Trausius istis
 iurgatur uerbis: ego uectigalia magna 100
 diuitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus." ergo,
 quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
 cur eget indignus quisquam te diuite? quare
 templa ruunt antiqua deum? cur, improbe, carae
 non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris aceruo? 105
 uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res,
 o magnus posthac inimicis risus. uterne
 ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? hic qui
 pluribus assuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
 an qui contentus paruo metuensque futuri 110
 in pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello?
 quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego paruus Ofellum
 integris opibus noui non latius usum
 quam nunc accisis. uideas metato in agello
 cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum 115
 "non ego" narrantem "temere edi luce profesta
 quicquam praeter holus fumosae cum pede pernae.
 ac mihi seu longum post tempus uenerat hospes
 siue operum uacuo gratus conuiuia per imbrem
 uicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis, 120
 sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uua secundas
 et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
 post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra
 ac uenerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
 explicuit uino contractae seria frontis. 125
 saeuat atque nouos moueat Fortuna tumultus:
 quantum hinc imminuet? quanto aut ego parcius aut uos,
 o pueri, nitiuistis, ut huc nouus incola uenit?
 nam propriae telluris erum natura nec illum
 nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille, 130
 illum aut nequities aut uafri inscitia iuris,
 postremum expellet certe uiuacior heres.
 nunc ager Vmbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
 dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum
 nunc mihi, nunc alii. quocirca uiuite fortes 135
 fortiaque aduersis opponite pectora rebus."

III

"Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
 membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
 iratus tibi, quod uini somnique benignus
 nil dignum sermone canas. quid fiet? at ipsis
 Saturnalibus huc fugisti sobrius. ergo 5
 dic aliquid dignum promissis. incipe. nil est.
 culpantur frustra calami immeritusque laborat
 iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.
 atqui uultus erat multa et praeclara minantis,
 si uacuum tepido cepisset uillula tecto. 10
 quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro?
 Eupolin, Archilochos, comites educere tantos?
 Inuidiam placare paras uirtute relicta?
 contemnere miser. uitanda est improba Siren
 desidia, aut quidquid uita meliore parasti 15
 ponendum aequo animo."

"di te, Damasippe, deaeque
 uerum ob consilium donent tonsore. sed unde
 tam bene me nosti?"

"postquam omnis res mea Ianum
 ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo
 excussus propriis. olim nam quaerere amabam, 20
 quo uaffer ille pedes lauisset Sisypheus aere,
 quid sculptum infabre, quid fustum durius esset.
 callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
 hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
 cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale 25
 imposuere mihi cognomen compita."

"noui
 et miror morbi purgatum te illius. atqui
 emouit ueterem mire nouus, ut solet, in cor
 traiecto lateris miseri capitisue dolore,
 ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget. 30
 dum nequid simile huic, esto ut libet."

"o bone, ne te
 frustrere: insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
 si quid Stertinius ueri crepat, unde ego mira
 descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
 solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam 35
 atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reuerti.

nam male re gesta cum uellem mittere operto
 me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et 'caue faxis
 te quicquam indignum. pudor' inquit 'te malus angit,
 insanos qui inter uereare insanus haberi. 40
 primum nam inquiram, quid sit furere: hoc si erit in te
 solo, nil uerbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.
 quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia ueri
 caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
 autumat. haec populos, haec magnos formula reges, 45
 excepto sapiente, tenet.'"

"nunc accipe, quare
 desipiant omnes aequae ac tu, qui tibi nomen
 insano posuere. uelut siluis, ubi passim
 palantes error certo de tramite pellit,
 ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique 50
 error, sed uariis illudit partibus: hoc te
 crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille
 qui te deridet caudam trahat.'"

"est genus unum
 stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignes,
 ut rupes fluuiosque in campo obstare queratur; 55
 alterum et huic uarum et nihilo sapientius ignes
 per medios fluuiosque ruentis: clamet amica
 mater, honesta soror cum cognatis, pater, uxor:
 "hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima: serua!"
 non magis audierit, quam Fufius ebrius olim, 60
 cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis
 "mater, te appello" clamantibus.'"

"huic ego uulgus
 errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
 insanit ueteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
 integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? esto. 65
 "accipe quod numquam reddas mihi" si tibi dicam:
 tunc insanus eris, si acceperis, an magis excors
 reiecta praeda, quam praesens Mercurius fert?
 scribe decem a Nerio: non est satis; adde Cicutae
 nodosi tabulas, centum, mille adde catenas: 70
 effugiet tamen haec sceleratus uincula Proteus.
 cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,
 fiet aper, modo auis, modo saxum et, cum uolet, arbor.
 si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani:

putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli
dictantis, quod tu numquam rescribere possis.” 75

“audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
aut alio mentis morbo calet: huc propius me, 80
dum doceo insanire omnes uos, ordine adite.”

“danda est ellebori multo pars maxima auaris:
nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulcro,
ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum 85
damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
frumenti quantum metit Africa. “siue ego praeue
seu recte hoc uolui, ne sis patruus mihi”: credo,
hoc Staberi prudentem animum uidisse. quid ergo
sensit, cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo 90
heredes uoluit? quoad uixit, credidit ingens
pauperiem uitium et cauit nihil acrius, ut, si
forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset,
ipse uideretur sibi nequior. “omnis enim res,
uirtus, fama, decus, diuina humanaque pulchris 95
Diuitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille
clarus erit, fortis, iustus.” “sapiensne?” “etiam, et rex
et quidquid uolet.” hoc ueluti uirtute paratum
sperauit magnae laudi fore.”

“quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? qui seruos proicere aurum 100
in media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
propter onus segnes. uter est insanior horum?
nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resoluit.”

“si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli, 105
si scalptra et formas non sutor, nautica uela
auersus mercaturis: delirus et amens
undique dicatur merito. qui discrepat istis,
qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
compositis metuensque uelut contingere sacrum? 110
si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper aceruum
porrectus uigilet cum longo fuste neque illinc
audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum

ac potius foliis parcus uescatur amaris;
 si positis intus Chii ueterisque Falerni 115
 mille cadis—nihil est: tercentum milibus, acre
 potet acetum; age si et stramentis incubet unde-
 octoginta annos natus, cui stragula uestis,
 blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:
 nimirum insanus paucis uideatur, eo quod 120
 maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.
 filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
 dis inimice senex custodis? ne tibi desit?
 quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,
 unguere si caules oleo meliore caputque 125
 coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? quare,
 si quiduis satis est, peiuras, surripis, aufers
 undique? tun sanus?”

“populum si caedere saxis
 incipias seruosue tuos, quos aere pararis,
 insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae; 130
 cum laqueo uxorem interimis matremque ueneno,
 incolumi capite es. quid enim? neque tu hoc facis Argis
 nec ferro ut demens genetricem occidis Orestes.
 an tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente
 ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam 135
 in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
 quin, ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes,
 nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis:
 non Pyladen ferro uiolare aususue sororem
 Electran, tantum maledicit utrique uocando 140
 hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, iussit quod splendida bilis.”

“pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
 qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
 Campana solitus trulla uappamque profestis,
 quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres 145
 iam circum loculos et clauis laetus ouansque
 curreret. hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
 excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
 effundi saccos nummorum, accedere plures
 ad numerandum: hominem sic erigit; addit et illud: 150
 “ni tua custodis, auidus iam haec auferet heres.”
 “men uiuo?” “ut uiuas igitur, uigila. hoc age.” “quid uis?”

“deficient inopem uenae te, ni cibus atque
 ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.
 tu cessas? agetum sume hoc tisanarium oryzae.” 155
 “quanti emptae?” “paruo.” “quanti ergo?” “octussibus.” “eheu,
 quid refert, morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?”
 “quisnam igitur sanus? qui non stultus. quid auarus?
 stultus et insanus. quid, si quis non sit auarus,
 continuo sanus? minime. cur, Stoice? dicam. 160
 “non est cardiacus” Craterum dixisse putato
 “hic aeger.” recte est igitur surgetque? negabit.
 quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto
 non est periurus neque sordidus: immolet aequis
 hic porcum Laribus; uerum ambitiosus et audax: 165
 nauiget Anticyram.”
 “quid enim differt, barathrone
 dones quidquid habes an numquam utare paratis?
 Seruius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, diues
 antiquo censu, gnatis diuisse duobus
 fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse uocatis 170
 ad lectum: “postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
 ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere uidi,
 te, Tiberi, numerare, cauis abscondere tristem,
 extimui, ne uos ageret uesania discors,
 tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam. 175
 quare per diuos oratus uterque Penates
 tu caue ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id
 quod satis esse putat pater et natura coercet.
 praeterea ne uos titillet gloria, iure
 iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritue 180
 uestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.”
 “in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,
 latus ut in circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,
 nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis;
 scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu, 185
 astuta ingenuum uulpes imitata leonem?
 ne quis humasse uelit Aiacem, Atrida, uetas cur?
 “rex sum—” nil ultra quaero plebeius. “—et aequam
 rem imperito, ac si cui uideor non iustus, inulto
 dicere quod sentit permitto.” maxime regum, 190
 di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia.

ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?
 “consule.” cur Ajax, heros ab Achille secundus,
 putescit, totiens seruatis clarus Achiuis,
 gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato, 195
 per quem tot iuuenes patrio caruere sepulcro?
 “mille ouium insanus morti dedit, inclitum Vlixen
 et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.”
 tu cum pro uitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam
 ante aras spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa, 200
 rectum animi seruas? “quorsum?” insanus quid enim Ajax
 fecit? cum strauit ferro pecus, abstinuit uim
 uxore et gnato; mala multa precatus Atridis
 non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum uiolauit Vlixen.
 “uerum ego, ut haerentes aduerso litore naues 205
 eriperem, prudens placui sanguine diuos.”
 nempe tuo, furiose? “meo, sed non furiosus.”
 qui species alias ueri scelerisque tumultu
 permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur atque
 stultitiane erret nihilum distabit an ira. 210
 Ajax immeritos cum occidit desipit agnos:
 tu, prudens scelus ob titulos cum admittis inanes,
 stas animo et purum est uitio tibi cum tumidum est cor?
 si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
 huic uestem ut gnatae, paret ancillas, paret aurum, 215
 Rufam aut Pusillam appellet fortique marito
 destinet uxorem: interdicto huic omne adimat ius
 praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
 quid, si quis gnatam pro muta deuouet agna,
 integer est animi? ne dixeris. ergo ubi praua 220
 stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
 et furiosus erit; quem cepit uitrea Fama,
 hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.”
 “nunc age luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum.
 uincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes. 225
 hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
 edicit, piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
 unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia uici,
 cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum
 mane domum ueniant. quid tum? uenere frequentes, 230
 uerba facit leno: “quidquid mihi, quidquid et horum
 cuique domi est, id crede tuum et uel nunc pete uel cras.”

accipe quid contra haec iuuenis responderit aequus.
 “tu niue Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
 cenem ego; tu pisces hiberno ex aequore uerris. 235
 segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam; aufer,
 sume tibi deciens; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex,
 unde uxor media currit de nocte uocata.”
 filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
 scilicet ut deciens solidum absorberet, aceto 240
 diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior ac si
 illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretue cloacam?
 Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum
 nequitia et nugis prauorum et amore gemellum
 lusciniis soliti impenso prandere coemptas, 245
 quorsum abeant? sani ut creta, an carbone notati?”
 “aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,
 ludere par impar, equitare in harundine longa
 si quem delectet barbatum, amentia uerset.
 si puerilius his ratio esse euincet amare 250
 nec quicquam differre, utrumne in puluere, trimus
 quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
 sollicitus plores: quaero, faciasne quod olim
 mutatus Polemon? ponas insignia morbi,
 fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille 255
 dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
 postquam est impransi correptus uoce magistri?
 porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat;
 “sume, catelle”: negat; si non des, optet. amator
 exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum, eat an non, 260
 quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
 inuisis foribus? “nec nunc, cum me uocet ultro,
 accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
 exclusit; reuocat: redeam? non, si obsecret.” ecce
 seruus, non paulo sapientior “o ere, quae res 265
 nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
 tractari non uult. in amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
 pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
 mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
 reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si 270
 insanire paret certa ratione modoque.”
 quid? cum Picenis excerpens semina pomis
 gaudes, si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?

quid? cum balba feris annoso uerba palato,
aedificante casas qui sanior?"

"adde cruorem 275

stultitiae atque ignem gladio scrutare. modo, inquam.
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se,
cerritus fuit? an commotae crimine mentis
absolues hominem et sceleris damnabis eundem
ex more imponens cognata uocabula rebus?" 280

"libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus
lautis mane senex manibus currebat et "unum,"
("quid tam magnum?" addens), "unum me surpите morti!
dis etenim facile est" orabat, sanus utrisque
auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus, 285
exciperet dominus, cum uenderet. hoc quoque uulgus
Chrysippus ponit fecunda in gente Meneni.
"Iuppiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,"
mater ait pueri mensis iam quinque cubantis,
"frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo 290
mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus
in Tiberi stabit." casus medicusue leuarit
aegrum ex praecipiti: mater delira necabit
in gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet,
quone malo mentem concussa? timore deorum." 295

"haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octauus, amico
arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet atque
respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo."

"Stoice, post damnum sic uendas omnia pluris, 300
qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,
insanire putas? ego nam uideor mihi sanus."

"quid, caput abscisum manibus cum portat Agaue
gnati infelicis, sibi tunc furiosa uidetur?"

"stultum me fateor (liceat concedere ueris) 305
atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
aegrotare putes animi uitio."

"accipe: primum
aedificas, hoc est longos imitaris, ab imo
ad summum totus moduli bipedalis, et idem
corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis 310
spiritum et incessum: qui ridiculus minus illo?"

an, quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque uerum est,
 tantum dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?
 absentis ranae pullis uituli pede pressis
 unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens 315
 belua cognatos eliserit: illa rogare,
 quantane, num tantum (sufflans se) magna fuisset.
 ‘maior dimidio.’ ‘num tanto?’ cum magis atque
 se magis inflaret, ‘non, si te ruperis,’ inquit,
 ‘par eris.’ haec a te non multum abludit imago. 320
 adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino,
 quae si quis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu.
 non dico horrendam rabiem”

“iam desine!”

“cultum

maio rem censu”

“teneas, Damasippe, tuis te!”

“mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores” 325

“o maior tandem parcas, insane, minori!”

IV

“Vnde et quo Catius?”

“non est mihi tempus, auenti

ponere signa nouis praeceptis, qualia uincunt
 Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.”

“peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laeue
 interpellarim; sed des ueniam bonus, oro. 5

quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,
 siue est naturae hoc siue artis, mirus utroque.”

“quin id erat curae, quo pacto cuncta tenerem
 utpote res tenues, tenui sermone peractas.”

“ede hominis nomen, simul et, Romanus an hospes.” 10

“ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.
 longa quibus facies ouis erit, illa memento,
 ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
 ponere: namque marem cohibent callosa uitellum.
 cole suburbano qui siccis creuit in agris 15

dulcior: irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
 si uespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
 ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
 doctus eris uiuam mixto mersare Falerno:
 hoc teneram faciet. pratensibus optima fungis 20
 natura est; aliis male creditur. ille salubris
 aestates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
 finiet, ante grauem quae legerit arbore solem.
 Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno:
 mendose, quoniam uacuis committere uenis 25
 nil nisi lene decet: leni praecordia mulso
 prolueris melius. si dura morabitur aluus,
 mitulus et uiles pellent obstantia conchae
 et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coe.
 lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae; 30
 sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae:
 murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
 ostrea Circeis, Miseno oriuntur echini,
 pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.
 nec sibi cenarum quiuis temere arroget artem, 35
 non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
 nec satis est cara pisces auertere mensa
 ignarum, quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis
 languidus in cubitum iam se conuiuia reponet.
 Vmber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas 40
 curuat aper lances carnem uitantis inertem;
 nam Laurens malus est, uluis et harundine pinguis.
 uinea summittit capreas non semper edulis.
 fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
 piscibus atque auibus quae natura et foret aetas, 45
 ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
 sunt quorum ingenium noua tantum crustula promit.
 nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam,
 ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint uina, laboret,
 quali perfundat pisces securus oliuo. 50
 Massica si caelo suppones uina sereno,
 nocturna si quid crassi est tenuabitur aura
 et decedet odor neruis inimicus; at illa
 integrum perdunt lino uitata saporem.
 Surrentina uaffer qui miscet faece Falerna 55

uina, columbino limum bene colligit ouo,
 quatenus ima petit uoluens aliena uitellus.
 tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
 potorem coclea; nam lactuca innatat acri
 post uinum stomacho; perna magis et magis hillis 60
 flagitat immorsus refici, quin omnia malit
 quaecumque immundis feruent allata popinis.
 est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris
 naturam. simplex e dulci constat oliuo,
 quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit 65
 non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
 hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
 Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
 pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit oliuae.
 Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco: 70
 nam facie praestant, uenucula conuenit ollis;
 rectius Albanam fumo duraueris uuam.
 hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,
 primus et inuenior piper album cum sale nigro
 incretum puris circumposuisse catillis. 75
 immane est uitium dare milia terna macello
 angustoque uagos pisces urgere catino.
 magna mouet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
 tractauit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit,
 siue grauis ueteri creterrae limus adhaesit. 80
 uilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scribe quantus
 consistit sumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.
 ten lapides uarios lutulenta radere palma
 et Tyrias dare circum illuta toralia uestes,
 oblitum, quanto curam sumptumque minorem 85
 haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis,
 quae nisi diuitibus nequeunt contingere mensis?”
 “docte Cati, per amicitiam diuosque rogatus
 ducere me auditum, perges quocumque, memento.
 nam quamuis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta, 90
 non tamen interpres tantundem iuueris. adde
 uultum habitumque hominis, quem tu uidisse beatus
 non magni pendis, quia contigit; at mihi cura
 non mediocris inest, fontes ut adire remotos
 atque haurire queam uitae praecepta beatae.” 95

V

“Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
artibus atque modis. quid rides?”

“iamne doloso
non satis est Ithacam reuehi patriosque Penates
adspicere?”

“o nulli quicquam mentite, uides ut
nudus inopsque domum redeam te uate, neque illic
aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus: atqui
et genus et uirtus, nisi cum re, uilior alga est.” 5

“quando pauperiem missis ambagibus horres,
accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. turdus
siue aliud priuum dabitur tibi, deuolet illuc,
res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores
ante Larem gustet uenerabilior Lare diues.
qui quamuis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
sanguine fraterno, fugitiuus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.” 10 15

“utne tegam spurco Damae latus? haud ita Troiae
me gessi, certans semper melioribus.”

“ergo
pauper eris.”

“fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo;
et quondam maiora tui. tu protinus, unde
diuitias aerisque ruam, dic, augur, acruos.” 20

“dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
testamenta senum neu, si uafers unus et alter
insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
aut spem deponas aut artem illusum omittas.
magna minorue foro si res certabitur olim,
uiuere uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus, ultro
qui meliorem audax uocet in ius, illius esto
defensor; fama ciuem causaque priorem
sperne, domi si gnatus erit fecundaue coniux.
‘Quinte’ puta aut ‘Publi’ (gaudent praenomine molles
auriculae) ‘tibi me uirtus tua fecit amicum.
ius anceps noui, causas defendere possum;

 25 30

eripiet quiuis oculos citius mihi quam te 35
 contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,
 ne quid tu perdas neu sis iocus.' ire domum atque
 pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse,
 persta atque obdura: seu rubra Canicula findet
 infantes statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso 40
 Furius hibernas cana niue conspuet Alpes.
 'nonne uides' aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
 inquiet, 'ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?'
 plures annabunt thynni et cetaria crescent.
 si cui praeterea ualidus male filius in re 45
 praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
 caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
 arrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
 heres et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
 in uacuum uenias: perraro haec alea fallit. 50
 qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,
 abnuere et tabulas a te remouere memento,
 sic tamen, ut limis rapias, quid prima secundo
 cera uelit uersu; solus multisne coheres,
 ueloci percurrere oculo. plerumque recoctus 55
 scribe ex quinqueuiro coruum deludet hiantem
 captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano."
 "num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?"
 "o Laertiade, quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non:
 diuinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo." 60
 "quid tamen ista uelit sibi fabula, si licet, ede."
 "tempore quo iuuenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto
 demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
 magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
 filia Nasicae, metuentis reddere soldum. 65
 tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
 ut legat orabit. multum Nasica negatas
 accipiet tandem et tacitus leget inuenietque
 nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
 illud ad haec iubeo: mulier si forte dolosa
 libertusue senem delirum temperet, illis
 accedas socius: laudes, lauderis ut absens.
 adiuuat hoc quoque, sed uincit longe prius ipsum 70

expugnare caput. scribet mala carmina uecors: laudato. scortator erit: caue te roget; ultro Penelopam facilis potiori trade.”	75
“putasne perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica, quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?”	
“uenit enim magnum donandi parca iuuentus nec tantum ueneris quantum studiosa culinae. sic tibi Penelope frugi est; quae si semel uno de sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum, ut canis a corio numquam absterrebitur uncto. me sene quod dicam factum est. anus improba Thebis ex testamento sic est elata: cadauer unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres, scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo, quod nimium institerat uiuenti. cautus adito neu desis operae neu immoderatus abundes. difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus: ultra ‘non’, ‘etiam’ sileas; Dauus sis comicus atque stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti. obsequio grassare. mone, si increbruit aura, cautus uti uelet carum caput. extrahe turba oppositis umeris. aurem substringe loquaci. importunus amat laudari: donec ‘ohe, iam!’ ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge. crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem. cum te seruitio longo curaue leuarit, et certum uigilans ‘quartae sit partis Vlixes’ audieris ‘heres’: ‘ergo nunc Dama sodalis nusquam est? unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?’ sparge subinde et, si paulum potes illacrimare, est gaudia prodentem uultum celare. sepulcrum permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue: funus egregie factum laudet uicinia. si quis forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu dic, ex parte tua seu fundi siue domus sit emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. sed me imperiosa trahit Proserpina. uiue ualeque.”	80 85 90 95 100 105 110

VI

Hoc erat in uotis: modus agri non ita magnus,
 hortus ubi et tecto uicinus iugis aquae fons
 et paulum siluae super his foret. auctius atque
 di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius oro,
 Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis. 5
 si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem
 nec sum facturus uitio culpaue minorem,
 si ueneror stultus nihil horum “o si angulus ille
 proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!”
 “o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi, 10
 thesauro inuento qui mercennarius agrum
 illum ipsum mercatus arauit, diues amico
 Hercule!,” si quod adest gratum iuuat, hac prece te oro:
 pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
 ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis. 15
 ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe remoui,
 quid prius illustrem saturis musaque pedestri?
 nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus auster
 autumnusque grauis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
 Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis, 20
 unde homines operum primos uitaeque labores
 instituunt—sic dis placitum—, tu carminis esto
 principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: “eia,
 ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.”
 siue aquilo radit terras seu bruma niualet 25
 interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
 postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto
 luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
 “quid tibi uis, insane, et quare me improbus urges
 iratis precibus? tu pulses omne quod obstat, 30
 ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras.”
 hoc iuuat et melli est, non mentiar. at simul atras
 uentum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
 per caput et circa saliant latus. “ante secundam
 Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.” 35
 “de re communi scribae magna atque noua te
 orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reuerti.”

"imprimat his cura Maecenas signa tabellis."
 dixeris: "experiar": "si uis, potes," addit et instat.
 septimus octauo propior iam fugerit annus, 40
 ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
 in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere raeda
 uellet iter faciens et cui concedere nugas
 hoc genus: "hora quota est?" "Thraex est Gallina Syro par?"
 "matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent," 45
 et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
 per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam
 inuidiae noster. ludos spectauerat, una
 luserat in campo: "Fortunae filius" omnes.
 frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor: 50
 quicumque obuius est, me consulit: "o bone, nam te
 scire, deos quoniam propius contingis oportet,
 numquid de Dacis audisti?" "nil equidem." "ut tu
 semper eris derisor." "at omnes di exagitent me,
 si quicquam." "quid? militibus promissa Triquetra 55
 praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?"
 iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
 scilicet egregii mortalem atque silenti.
 perditur haec inter misero lux non sine uotis:
 o rus, quando ego te aspiciam quandoque licebit 60
 nunc ueterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
 ducere sollicitae iucunda obliuia uitae?
 o quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
 uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?
 o noctes cenaque deum, quibus ipse meique 65
 ante Larem proprium uescor uernasque procaces
 pasco libatis dapibus. prout cuique libido est,
 siccatur inaequales calices conuiuia solutus
 legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
 pocula seu modicis uuescit laetius. ergo 70
 sermo oritur, non de uillis domibusue alienis,
 nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed, quod magis ad nos
 pertinet et nescire malum est, agitamus, utrumne
 diuitiis homines an sint uirtute beati,
 quidue ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos 75
 et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.
 Ceruius haec inter uicinus garrit aniles
 ex re fabellas. si quis nam laudat Arelli

sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: "olim
 rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur 80
 accepisse cauo, ueterem uetus hospes amicum,
 asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
 solueret hospitiiis animum. quid multa? neque ille
 sepositi ciceris nec longae inuidit auenae,
 aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi 85
 frustra dedit, cupiens uaria fastidia cena
 uincere tangentis male singula dente superbo,
 cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
 esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
 tandem urbanus ad hunc 'quid te iuuat' inquit, 'amice, 90
 praerupti nemoris patientem uiuere dorso?
 uis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere siluis?
 carpe uiam, mihi crede, comes, terrestria quando
 mortales animas uiuunt sortita neque ulla est
 aut magno aut paruo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa, 95
 dum licet, in rebus iucundis uiue beatus,
 uiue memor, quam sis aeui breuis.' haec ubi dicta
 agrestem pepulere, domo leuis exsilit; inde
 ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis auentes
 moenia nocturni surrepere. iamque tenebat 100
 Nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
 in locuplete domo uestigia, rubro ubi cocco
 tincta super lectos canderet uestis eburnos
 multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
 quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris. 105
 ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in ueste locauit
 agrestem, ueluti succinctus cursitat hospes
 continuatque dapes nec non uerniliter ipsis
 fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod affert.
 ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque 110
 rebus agit laetum conuiuam, cum subito ingens
 ualuarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
 currere per totum pauidi conclaue magisque
 exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
 personuit canibus. tum rusticus: 'haud mihi uita 115
 est opus hac' ait et 'ualeas: me silua cauosque
 tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur eruo.'"

VII

“Iamdudum ausculto et cupiens tibi dicere seruus
pauca reformido.”

“Dauusne?”

“ita, Dauus, amicum
mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis, hoc est,
ut uitale putes.”

“age libertate Decembri,
quando ita maiores uoluerunt, utere: narra.” 5

“pars hominum uitiiis gaudet constanter et urget
propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
interdum prauis obnoxia. saepe notatus
cum tribus anellis, modo laeua Priscus inani
uixit inaequalis, clauum ut mutaret in horas, 10
aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet unde
mundior exiret uix libertinus honeste;
iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis
uiuere, Vortumnis quotquot sunt natus iniquis.
scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra 15
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleretur atque
mitteretur in phimum talos, mercede diurna
conductum pauit: quanto constantior isdem
in uitiiis, tanto leuius miser ac prior illo
qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.” 20

“non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant,
furcifer?”

“ad te, inquam.”

“quo pacto, pessime?”

“laudas
fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,
si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
aut quia non sentis, quod clamas, rectius esse, 25
aut quia non firmus rectum defendis et haeres
nequiquam caeno cupiens euellere plantam.
Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem
tollis ad astra leuis. si nusquam es forte uocatus
ad cenam, laudas securum holus ac, uelut usquam 30
uinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque,
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima uenire
conuiuium: ‘nemon oleum fert ocius? ecquis
audit?’ cum magno blateras clamore fugisque. 35

Muluius et scurrae, tibi non referenda precati,
 discedunt. 'etenim fateor me' dixerit ille
 'duci uentre leuem, nasum nidore supinor,
 imbecillus, iners, si quid uis, adde, popino.
 tu cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
 insectere uelut melior uerbisque decoris
 obuoluas uitium?' quid, si me stultior ipso
 quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? aufer
 me uultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
 dum quae Crispini docuit me ianitor edo." 40
 "te coniunx aliena capit, meretricula Dauum:
 peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? acris ubi me
 natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
 quaecumque excepit turgentis uerba caudae
 clunibus aut agitauit equum lasciua supinum,
 dimittit neque famosum neque sollicitum, ne
 ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.
 tu cum proiectis insignibus, anulo equestri
 Romanoque habitu, prodis ex iudice Dama,
 turpis odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,
 non es quod simulas? metuens induceris atque
 altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pauore.
 quid refert, uri uirgis ferroque necari
 auctoratus eas, an turpi clausus in arca,
 quo te demisit peccati conscia erilis,
 contractum genibus tangas caput? estne marito
 matronae peccantis in ambo iusta potestas?
 in corruptorem uel iustior. illa tamen se
 non habitu mutatue loco peccatue superne,
 cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti.
 ibis sub furcam prudens dominoque furenti
 committes rem omnem et uitam et cum corpore famam?
 euasti: credo, metues doctusque cauebis:
 quaeres, quando iterum paueas iterumque perire
 possis, o totiens seruus. quae belua ruptis,
 cum semel effugit, reddit se praua catenis?" 70
 "non sum moechus' ais. neque ego hercule fur, ubi uasa
 praetereo sapiens argentea. tolle periculum:
 iam uaga prosiliet frenis Natura remotis.
 tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque 75

tot tantisque minor, quem ter uindicta quaterque
 imposita haud umquam misera formidine priuet?
 adde, super dictis, quod non leuius ualeat. nam,
 siue uicarius est, qui seruo paret, uti mos
 uester ait, seu conseruus, tibi quid sum ego? nempe 80
 tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis seruis miser atque
 duceris ut neruis alienis mobile lignum.”

“quisnam igitur liber? sapiens sibi qui imperiosus,
 quem neque pauperies neque mors neque uincula terrent,
 respondere cupidinibus, contemnere honores 85
 fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
 externi nequid ualeat per leue morari,
 in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. potesne
 ex his ut proprium quid noscere? quinque talenta
 poscit te mulier, uexat foribusque repulsum 90
 perfundit gelida, rursus uocat: eripe turpi
 colla iugo liber, ‘liber sum’ dic age. non quis.
 urget enim dominus mentem non lenis et acris
 subiectat lasso stimulos uersatque negantem.”

“uel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella, 95
 qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fului Rutubaeque
 aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
 proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, uelut si
 re uera pugnent, feriant uitentque mouentes
 arma uiri? nequam et cessator Dauus; at ipse 100
 subtilis ueterum iudex et callidus audis.”

“nil ego, si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
 uirtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis?
 obsequium uentris mihi perniciosius est cur?
 tergo plector enim. qui tu impunitior illa, 105
 quae paruo sumi nequeunt, obsonia captas?
 nempe inamorescunt epulae sine fine petitae
 illusque pedes uitiosum ferre recusant
 corpus. an hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uuam
 furtiua mutat strigili: qui praedia uendit, 110
 nil seruile gulae parens habet?”

“adde, quod idem
 non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
 ponere teque ipsum uitas fugitiuus et erro,
 iam uino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam,
 frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.” 115

“unde mihi lapidem?”

“quorsum est opus?”

“unde sagittas?”

“aut insanit homo aut uersus facit.”

“ocius hinc te

ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.”

VIII

“Vt Nasidieni iuuuit te cena beati?

nam mihi quaerenti conuiuiam dictus here illic
de medio potare die.”

“sic, ut mihi numquam
in uita fuerit melius.”

“da, si graue non est,
quae prima iratum uentrem placauerit esca.”

5

“in primis Lucanus aper: leni fuit austro
captus, ut aiebat cenae pater: acria circum
rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassarum
peruellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
his ut sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam

10

gausape purpureo mensam pertersit et alter
sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
posset cenantes offendere, ut Attica uirgo
cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba uina ferens, Alcon Chium maris experts.
hic erus ‘Albanum, Maecenas, siue Falernum
te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.”

15

“diuitias miseras! sed quis cenantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.”

“summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra,
si memini, Varius; cum Seruilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.

20

Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,
ridiculus totas semel absorbere placentas;
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid forte lateret,
indice monstraret digito; nam cetera turba,
nos, inquam, cenamus aues, conchylia, pisces,
longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum,
ut uel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
ingustata mihi porrexerit ilia rhombi.

25

30

post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
 ad lunam delecta. quid hoc intersit, ab ipso
 audieris melius. tum Vibidius Balatroni
 'nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti,'
 et calices poscit maiores. uertere pallor 35
 tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acres
 potores, uel quod maledicunt liberius uel
 feruida quod subtile exsurdant uina palatum.
 inuertunt Allifanis uinaria tota
 Vibidius Balatroque secutis omnibus: imi 40
 conuiuiae lecti nihilum nocuere lagoenis."
 "affertur squillas inter murena natantes
 in patina porrecta. sub hoc erus 'haec grauida' inquit
 'capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
 his mixtum ius est: oleo, quod prima Venafrī 45
 pressit cella; garo de sucis piscis Hiberi;
 uino quinquenni, uerum citra mare nato,
 dum coquitur (cocto Chium sic conuenit, ut non
 hoc magis ullum aliud); pipere albo, non sine aceto,
 quod Methymnaeam uitio mutauerit uuam. 50
 erucas uirides, inulas ego primus amaras
 monstraui incoquere; illutos Curtillus echinos,
 ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat."
 "interea suspensa graues aulaea ruinas
 in patinam fecere, trahentia pulueris atri 55
 quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
 nos maius ueriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
 sensimus, erigimur; Rufus posito capite, ut si
 filius immaturus obisset, flere. quis esset
 finis, nī sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum 60
 tolleret: 'heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
 te deus? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
 humanis!' Varius mappa compescere risum
 uix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso
 'haec est condicio uiuendi' aiebat, 'eoque 65
 responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.
 tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
 sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
 ne male conditum ius adponatur, ut omnes
 praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent. 70
 adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,
 ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.

sed conuiuatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res
aduersae nudare solent, celare secundae.”

“Nasidienus ad haec ‘tibi di, quaecumque preceris,
commoda dent: ita uir bonus es conuiuaque comis’
et soles poscit. tum in lecto quoque uideres
stridere secreta diuisos aure susurros.” 75

“nullos his mallet ludos spectasse; sed illa
redde age quae deinceps risisti.”

“Vibidius dum 80
quaerit de pueris, num sit quoque fracta lagoena,
quod sibi poscenti non dentur pocula, dumque
ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo,

Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti 85
mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes

membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre,
pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae
et leporum auulsos, ut multo suauius, armos,
quam si cum lumbis quis edit. tum pectore adusto 90
uidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,

suaues res, si non causas narraret earum et
naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
ut nihil omnino gustaremus, uelut illis
Canidia afflasset, peior serpentibus Afris.” 95

COMMENTARY

SATIRE 1

The introductory poem of *Sermones* book 2 opens with Horace reacting to the criticisms of his detractors, whom he divides into two diametrically opposed groups: some think his poetry too aggressive, others too subdued. At first glance, this new book seems to be picking up where the old one left off, with H. jumping into yet another scrape with his critics, and defending the claims he has made about how satire of a more polished and politically responsible kind should be written. The first lines suggest that he is warming up to have another go at them, but then an unexpected grammatical form pops up at the end of line 4, alerting readers to a new narratological reality, which ends up being the main new tactical approach of the book itself: with the vocative *Trebatī* (“O Trebatius”) readers suddenly realize that this poem’s opening complaint is spoken not to the world at large, as had been the case in the literary critical “program” poems of book one (1.4 and 1.10, themselves cast as a kind of courtroom litigation; see Freudenburg 2001: 66–71). Rather, they are spoken to a second character inside the poem who listens and responds in turn.¹ Though emblazoned with the title *Sermones* (“Conversations”), the poems of book one are largely monologic, with the speaker addressing himself to the world at large and/or to specific persons who do not talk back (e.g. Maecenas, the silent addressee of poems 1 and 6). They are peppered with anonymous fictive interlocutors who raise silly objections and are quickly made to disappear (1–4 and 10), and they tell stories of past adventures that include snippets of conversation (5–9). This poem, however, is *sermo* of a more conspicuous kind: a “conversation” overheard; a miniature drama rather than a discourse delivered, or a story told.

The second man in this conversation is Gaius Trebatius Testa (hereafter Treb.), an actual legal expert of H.’s day who is made to play the multi-faceted part that his famous name suggests. Not only was Treb. a man deeply learned in matters of the law, he was a health enthusiast who loved to swim, an expert on Roman religious rituals and a man who knew quite a lot about how to survive in politically turbulent times (see 4, 7 nn.). When H. complains that some in his audience regard his

¹ See Acosta-Hughes 2002: 41–2 on a similar unexpected shift from a (presumed) external address to an internal one in the opening lines of Callimachus’ first *Iambus*.

satires as too harsh, claiming that they transcend the limits of the law (*ultra | legem tendere opus*, 1–2), he alludes to the so-called “law of the genre” using terminology that touches on matters of style. Thereupon rests the situation comedy of the poem: H.’s critics have called him a “lawbreaker,” so he takes his worries to the greatest legal expert of his day, as if their accusations have left him shaken and scrambling to find a legal strategy to free himself from the charge of having broken satire’s inviolable generic “law.” In fact, vigorous arguments for the existence of such a law notwithstanding (see Coffey 1976: 4–6; cf. Brink *ad Ars* 135 *pudor uetet aut operis lex*), it is unlikely that the conventions observed by earlier writers of satire (or by Lucilius alone) had come to constitute a *lex operis* (“law of the genre”) that was generally subscribed to by H.’s day (see 2 n.) – though some grammarians (such as Valerius Cato) may have urgently insisted that such a law did exist, and that it was to be found in their particular construal of the stylistic habits, purposes and finer qualities of Lucilius’ *Satires*. Even if such a law did exist, the point of bringing it (or the idea of it) up as a critical grievance in this poem is not to show that H.’s critics have failed to understand it properly, or that they wield it badly, or that H. stands falsely accused. Rather it is to poke fun at them for being so narrowly legalistic in their thinking, and to peg them yet again (as had been done already in *S.* 1.10) as nitpicking *grammatici* who think of poetic genres in terms of strict laws and categories to be kept to (see 1 n.). The law that they accuse H. of breaking is not one that he ever had the least intention of obeying.

This is not the first poem in a collection of satires to stage a discourse between a satirist seeking to defend himself and lay out his reasons for writing satire, and a concerned interlocutor who cautions him to find new uses for his talents. Lucilius had done this in the introductory satire of his twenty-sixth book, which is the first book of his earliest collection of satires (23 n.). Later, the same conceit is put to work again (though in greatly reduced form) in the first satires of Persius and Juvenal. In each case subsequent to the Lucilian original (c. 131 BCE), the satirists whose works these poems introduce undertake to sort through the complicated nature of their relationship to the genre’s famous founder, Lucilius. In each case, the satirist explores the idea of writing aggressively, as Lucilius had done, only to have a wise interlocutor caution him against trying to play Lucilius in his own day, times being what they are.

In this poem, Treb. suggests that, instead of writing satire, H. should consider writing poems on Caesar’s recent military victories, presenting this as an option that is both lucrative and safely pursued (similar advice is given to the satirist in the introductory consultation poem of Lucilius book 26; see 11 n.). But H. tosses the suggestion aside by claiming that,

as much as he would like to do this, his poetic powers are not equal to his desires (a *recusatio* that refers back to Roman poetry's earliest known *recusatio* in Lucilius book 26; see 12 n.). Treb. then tries another option, pointing out that Lucilius had written some satires of a less combative kind that highlighted the virtues of his friend, Scipio. This option is not rejected outright by H., but set aside as something that he might do when the time is right – perhaps gesturing toward the *Odes*; cf. Virgil (writing at exactly the same time) pointing ahead to a future epic project lauding the victories of Octavian in the proem of *Georgics* 3 (see 18 n.). Understanding that H. is determined to persist in writing satire, Treb. cautions him against taunting his enemies by name, and it is here that H. makes a strange case for satire as a kind of “physiological” imperative that was born into him as a man of rebellious south Italian stock (see 34–9 n.). He claims that he attacks only when he has been attacked, and he points back to Lucilius as a defender of virtue, as well as a fierce (as if trusty canine) protector of his friends, who were some of the most powerful men of his day. H. then lets on that he, too, has important friends, but he fails to specify what he means by this until the poem's surprising end.

Being who he is, Treb. construes the aesthetic and generic charges leveled against H. as legal problems that require legal solutions. When H. complains that if he does not write satire he will be unable to sleep, Treb. again, being who he is, offers a solution that is equal parts medical prescription and ritual ablution (7 n.). What one man worries about in one way, the other worries about in another, each according to his own expertise, his *modus uiuendi* and who he happens to be. The slippage from one frame of reference to another, helped by words and metaphors that straddle categories, is key to the humor of the poem, carrying through to the closing pun on *mala carmina* (82–3 n.). But there is a sharper, satiric point to be observed here, in the way that concerns in one sphere are so easily heard as, and taken for, concerns in another. In the newly post-triumviral age that is the dramatic setting of the poem, no one quite knows what will happen to poets who write critically of others. What will they be allowed to get away with? Nor do they know how existing laws will be enforced, tailored to the times or abolished. This is a time, in other words, when existing categories of reference are in flux and prone to collapsing into one another: a time when a poet might well be imagined taking his questions about the moral and aesthetic range of his poetry not to a fellow poet or literary expert, but to a lawyer whose best and first advice is that he stop writing altogether. It is an age when the categories of “writing good poems” and “staying healthy” and “out of legal trouble” really do touch on one another. Further on the dark connotations of the poem's end, see esp. Lowrie 2005: 345–8.

Such are some of the real worries that might be thought to lurk behind the pretend worries of the poem. To put this another way, this has always been one of the trickier puzzles that the poem leaves readers to solve: how does the main fiction of the poem, i.e. that of a satirist under legal threat for writing as he does, relate to the legal and political realities of 30 BCE? Is the fiction of a writer of satire nervously seeking help from a legal expert in order to defend himself against a capital charge just a funny idea, or does it represent the state of things in the nervous aftermath of Actium, thus helping to account for the hands-off political character of the book that the poem serves to introduce? We have very little to go on to answer these questions. The law against defamation that Treb. cites as a credible threat to his client was a statute ancient, mysterious and rarely used (see 82–3 n.). According to Cic. *Rep.* 4.10.12 9, breaking the law in question was a capital offense (*capite sanxissent*), but no evidence exists in Roman legal history to suggest that the law was ever used to put anyone to death. The near complete loss of the fourth book of Cicero's *De re publica* is especially grave for the history of Roman satire, since it was in that fourth book that Cicero had his interlocutors discuss the nature and history of poetic *libertas* in the Roman state. Given that Cicero's two chief interlocutors in that book are none other than Scipio and Laelius (see 65–6 nn.), it is quite possible that the satirist Lucilius, a close friend to both men, was somehow featured in their conversation. That said, the discussion that takes place between them in the small portion of the book preserved by Augustine suggests that the law's chief concern was not with abusive poems *per se*, but with abuse that emanated from the public stage.² Of the various trials pitting victims of verbal abuse against poets and/or actors in the third and second centuries BCE, all concern abuse delivered from the public stage, not from poems circulating in written form.³ For his part, Lucilius is said to have unsuccessfully sued a man who (whether as actor or playwright is unclear) had attacked him by name on stage (*qui Lucilium poetam in scaena nominatim laeserat*, [Cic.] *Her.* 2.19), and yet he himself was never forced to stand trial for criticizing others by name in his satires.

² At some point, if not originally, the same archaic law seems to have banned the public shaming rituals known as *flagitationes* and *conuicia*, i.e. cases where *carmen* refers not to a written poem but to a taunting group “chant”; see Fraenkel 1964, vol. II: 398–415, and Courtney 2013a: 130.

³ See Fantham 2005. The one possible exception to this is Naevius, whose taunts against the Metelli (for which he seems to have been imprisoned) Festus says were written *in Satyra*; see Festus 32 L, and cf. Gel. 3.3.15.

In the end, whatever legal threats may or may not have loomed over H. as a writer of satire in 30 BCE cannot be known. Within the poem's fiction, the threat posed by the law is raised only to be summarily dismissed by the poem's final lines. It is there, at the mere mention of the name "Caesar," that H.'s legal and aesthetic worries instantaneously disappear. Leeman 1983 pointed out that the advice Treb. gives to his client in this satire follows the standard protocols followed by juriconsults in determining the proper "stance" (*status*) to take in arguing one's case: he begins by recommending the strongest legal stance, and ends with the weakest, i.e. the *status translationis* that finds the defendant trying to have his case tried in another court, because the current court is not competent to try the case. Normally this is not a winning strategy, but in this case, the weakest stance proves to be the strongest: since Caesar deems his poems "good" rather than "bad," his aesthetic judgment amounts to a legal verdict in H.'s favor. His is the court that is competent to try the case, and his is the only *iudicium* that counts. If Caesar laughs at H.'s satires, the charges of his critics are laughed out of court.

One recalls that H. pursued a similar strategy of self-defense in the last poem of book 1. In *S.* 1.10, after working through his detractors' many criticisms of his new approach to satire, H. waves them aside by quoting the words of the bawdy mime actress Arbuscula: *nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere* ("that the knights give me their applause is enough for me," 76). He goes on to give a long list of those who approve of his satires, lining them up as the influential gang that supports him, and that his critics (led by Valerius Cato; see Gowers 309–10) might think twice about taking on. H. names fourteen persons as members of his group: famous statesmen and men of influence such as Pollio, Messalla and Maecenas, and poets of the caliber of Plotius, Virgil, the Viscus brothers and Varius.⁴ H. says that his list could be extended even further. His point is that, with the approval of men such as these, he really does not have to care what his critics think. He urges Demetrius and Tigellius to go back to "whining" about him to their schoolgirls (*discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras*, 91). And thus the poem ends.

The thing to be observed here is how the same strategy is used in both poems to give the poet his final say. In *S.* 1.10 H. uses big names to bully

⁴ The inspiration behind this gesture can perhaps be traced to Gallus fr. 2 Courtney, the last lines of which seem to assert that Gallus has nothing to fear from the criticisms of Valerius Cato, so long as Viscus "judges" them favourably (*non ego, Visce, [].....*). *Kato, iudice te uereor*). Gallus' name is (meaningfully?) absent from H.'s list in *S.* 1.10.

aside his critics: fourteen of them, plus “lots of others” (*complures alios*, 87) whom he says he could name, but chooses not to. This is impressive, but not nearly as impressive as his reprise of the strategy at the end of this first poem of book 2. Here the number of names needed to form “the gang” of his supporters has been reduced to just one. By naming Caesar, H. leaves his previously worried interlocutor with nothing more to say. Before Actium, it took a Republican host of powerful *amici* “smiling on” his efforts (*arridere*, 89) to intimidate his critics and brush them aside. After Actium, he need name only one man to get the job done. Treb. might well have said, “Caesar! Well, why didn’t you say so in the first place?!” By naming Caesar as a fan of his satires who deems them “good,” the charges of H.’s critics are laughed out of court, and there is nothing more to say.

1 sunt quibus: although they are unnamed, those who accuse H. of violating satire’s “law” appear to take the same view of his work as the neoteric scholar poets of S. 1.10, advocating a style of satire that is at once more euphonic and less combative than what H. writes. For their dismissal in 1.10 as nitpicking schoolteachers, see Gowers *ad* 90–1. **sat-ura:** already here in its first attested use (the second occurring below at 6.17 (see n.)), the term is less a generic label *per se* than it is a shorthand for the harshest features of Lucilius’ satires, i.e. outspoken invective and personal abuse. For the reduction of Lucilius to these terms in antiquity, see Freudenburg 2005: 3–4. Here it is unclear whether the word refers to H.’s “satiric writing” in general or to a specific poem (“a satire”) in his first book, such as the sexually explicit second poem or the critically combative fourth. In that first book, H.’s reluctance to fix a label to his poems is elaborately drawn out (van Rooy 1966: 79, Freudenburg 2001: 25–7), perhaps both to recall and imitate similar habits of self-mocking periphrasis in Lucilius; see Martyn 1972. Given H.’s earlier hesitation to designate his works *satura(e)*, the term’s bold appearance here has received much attention. It has been explained as: (1) a concession to the drama of the situation: “the term ... to be used in addressing a Lawyer” (Wheeler 1912: 468); (2) the first of several legal puns “in a poem based largely on legal puns” (Martyn 1972: 166); and (3) an “explicit acceptance” of the term as redefined by the higher literary standards newly set by book 1 (van Rooy 1966: 68). A solution as yet untried is to construe the term as part of his accusers’ charge (a quote) rather than separate from it. Thus the strong term *satura* fits the strong charge (“the man writes trenchant satire”) just as the vaguely dismissive *quidquid composui* fits the opposite charge that the poet writes enervated drivel. **nimis acer** identifies the poetry’s moral register as “too violent.” As a stylistic term, *acer* refers to a loose compositional technique characteristic of grand style invective

(*oratio acris*). Both senses are at play here; see Ullman 1911: 286, and Freudenburg 1990: 188-92.

1-2 *ultra legem*: the idea of stretching past limits is emphasized by the unusual straddling of preposition and object across the line-end. Normally the preposition, when followed immediately by its object, is proclitic (shedding its accent forward onto its object) and the two words are taken together in pronunciation as a single "metrical word": thus normally *ultralégem* rather than, as here, *últra légem*; see Nilsson 50. For this type of "descriptive" enjambment (arrangement imitating sense), cf. Lucr. 3.667-8, with Kenney *ad loc.*

2 *legem* is a double-entendre equating the stylistic tenets of H.'s accusers to the law of the land. There is no solid evidence for a "law of the genre" (*lex operis*, see poem intro. above) of satire until the Byzantine period; see van Rooy 1966: 165-8 on Lydus' theory of Latin satire. In the criticism of earlier periods those who invoke a *lex operis* for other genres tend to be rhetoricians and grammarians policing generic boundaries, e.g. Serv. *ad Ecl.* 2.65; see Steidle 1939: 85, n. 39, and cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.2.22. On H.'s parodic use of legalese as critical terminology in both the *Ars* and *Ep.* 2.2, see Freudenburg 2009: 426-30. Much of the poem's humor derives from the poet's treating his critics' complaint as if it were a serious legal accusation, one that could eventually land him in a court of law before a judge, charged with a capital offense. On Roman libel laws, and the question of whether H. was at any real risk of being prosecuted for defamation, see the introductory essay above, and 82-3 n. **opus** "the genre"; cf. Quint. 10.1.96 "the iambus has not really been pursued by Romans as its own separate genre (*ut proprium opus*)." **sine neruis** (lit.) "without tendons," i.e. "flabby" (perhaps a play on H.'s cognomen, *Flaccus*), is set against the equally physiological *tendere opus* "stretch my work/effort" to produce a contrast of bodies in opposite states of tension: one sinewy and taut, the other soft and shapeless. On *nimis acer* and *sine neruis* as medical terms, see Fedeli *ad loc.*; as metaphors of sexual "potency," see Freudenburg 1990. These same images were common in technical discussions of arrangement (*compositio*, Gk σύνθεσις); cf. *Ad Her.* 4.16 describing the "broken" (*dissolutum*), non-periodic style as *sine neruis et articulis*. Further on *neruus* as a stylistic metaphor, see Brink *ad Ars* 26, and Freudenburg 1996. West 1969: 62 sees a military analogy in *sine neruis*: a bow "without a string."

2-3 *quidquid composui* contrasts with the surprisingly resolute *satura* in line 1 (see n.). Inside the vague phrase one hears H.'s second group of critics refusing to dignify his efforts with the title "satire," as if waving them aside as so much neoteric drivel; cf. the several mannered circumlocutions of Catul. 1, esp. line 8 *quidquid hoc libelli*; also Gowers on the "Catullan shrug" of 1.10.88 where, as here, the verb *composui* suggests not

just writing in general, but technical matters of *compositio*; see *OLD compositio* 6, and prev. n.

4 mille die “a thousand per day.” The charge that H. leveled against Lucilius’ sloppy versification at 1.4.9–10 has come back to haunt him, repackaged by his accusers as an anti-Callimachean taunt. **deduci**: by means of the highly resonant word, H.’s detractors make sneering reference to a favorite neoteric conceit, i.e. that of the *deductum carmen*, likening the poet to a spinner of a fine thread. Factoring this in, his accusers’ counter-taunt amounts to: “you (who accuse Lucilius of profuseness) are the one whose verses can be ‘spun off’ (as you’re so fond of saying) a thousand per day.” Further on *deducere* as loaded neoteric terminology, see Gowers *ad* 1.1.14–15, N–R *ad Carm.* 3.30.13–14 and Ross 1975: 26, 65–6. **Trebatii**: Gaius Trebatius Testa (c. 89 BCE – 4 CE), the pre-eminent jurisconsult of the period. His close friendship with Cicero helped him become a member of Caesar’s Gallic *cohors* in 54–53 BCE; see Cic. *Fam.* 7.6–22. Later, in the civil wars, he became a crucial figure in negotiations between Caesar and the senatorial party. The jurisconsult did not function as a courtroom lawyer (*orator*, *patronus*, *aduocatus*, *causidicus*), but an expert in the law who, according to the summary of the jurisconsult’s duties at Cic. *De or.* 1.212, advised his clients on (1) how to interpret and use the law; (2) how to conduct cases in court; and (3) how to guard against exposing oneself to the risk of prosecution. It is the last of these three duties (*cauere*, i.e. guarding against potential prosecution; see Cancelli 1971: 635–6) that Treb. is being asked to perform for H., i.e. not to formulate a defense against H.’s accusers, but to help him fashion his new project in such a way that will keep him free of trouble. Further on the jurisconsult’s duties, see Leeman 1982. A specific early morning setting for the drama can be assumed from the fact that such consultations between jurisconsults and their clients typically took place at the crack of dawn at the expert’s house; see Gowers *ad* 1.9–10, and cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.13.21–2 with McKeown *ad loc.*

5 praescribe: lit. “trace out ahead of time,” i.e. prescribe a course to be followed. This was among the jurisconsult’s fundamental duties; cf. Cic. *Sen.* 27 (sc. *iuris consulti*) *a quibus iura ciuibz praescribebantur*. But the term also applies to expert medical advice; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2.123. **quiescas**: the one-word response is oracular and decisive, constituting both legal advice (“keep quiet,” *OLD quiesco* 5) and doctor’s orders (“take a rest,” *OLD* 1 and 2); cf. Cels. 5.28.3c *ac primum a uictus ratione ordinandus est, ut quiescat in lectulo*. H. will go on to claim that, in his particular case, satire and sleep are incompatible. **inquis**: here a verb of admonition with *ne* = “you are saying I should not ...”?

6–7 peream ... erat “damn me, if that were not the best thing [sc. for me to do]!” H. both flatters Treb. and says “no” to his brilliant idea. **peream**: for the word in asseverations of this type, see *OLD* *pereo* 3b. **erat**: the use of the indicative in place of *esset* introduces a note of regret, indicating that this is the course he should pursue, but cannot; see A–G §308b and 311c, G–L §254.2; cf. 16 n., Cic. *Fin.* 4.2, Gowers *ad* 1.9.38 *inteream* and 47 *dispeream*, where, as here, the speaker’s mock wish for his own demise vouches for and adds weight to what he is about to say (= “I swear on my life that ...”).

7 nequeo dormire: Roman satirists frequently configure their desire to write as an irrepressible bodily urge; cf. Lucil fr. 696–7W = 957–8M, Juv. 1.45, 77. Here the complaint also refers to Callimachean ἀγρυπνία, the “sleeplessness” that plagues poets driven to perfection; cf. Callim. *Ep.* 27.3–4 “the slender phrases of Aratus and his intense vigilance (σύντονος ἀγρυπνία),” and Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.112–13. Further on the conceit, see Thomas 1979: 195–206 and Ker 2004. **ter**: with *transnanto*. The prescribed “swim” resembles a lustral washing (see both Watson and Watson 2014 and Courtney *ad* Juv. 6.523) and thus fuses Treb.’s expertise in ritual with his famed love of swimming; cf. Porph. *ad* S. 2.1.1 *Trebatius ... aliquot libros de civili iure composuit et de religionibus nouem*, Cic. *Fam.* 7.10.2 (sc. *Trebatius studiosissimus homo natandi*). The lines exhibit the driving alliterations of a sacral formula: **ter transnanto ... Tiberim**; see De Meo 1983: 144–6. For *ter* as ritual number, see Watson *ad* *Epod.* 5.53–4 and Mayer *ad* *Ep.* 1.1.37; as a juridical term, see De Meo 1983: 71. **uncti** “having oiled themselves” = “after vigorous exercise.” Rubbing with oil was the prelude to athletic exercise and military training in the Campus Martius; cf. 1.6.123–6. Swimming the Tiber was part of military training, see N–H *ad* *Carm.* 1.8.8–10.

8 transnanto: the future imperative carries an august tone as the “tense of legal or religious injunction” (Hammond 1976: 187); cf. 83 n., Cic. *Leg.* 3.8, Virg. *Aen.* 6.153. Virgil perhaps made use of these lines (or some common source, now lost) in fashioning the Sibyl’s warning to Aeneas at 6.134–6: *si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est | bis Stygios innare lacus ... et insano iuuat indulgere labori, | accipe quae peragenda prius*. Gowers 2003: 80, n. 114 sees in Treb.’s injunction a possible reference to the heroic swimming of the Tiber by the poet’s famous namesake, Horatius Cocles.

9 irriguumque mero “completely drenched in strong wine.” Treb.’s counterpart in the Lucilian model for this poem employs a similar “watering” metaphor *ad* fr. 690W = 610M *haec tu si uoles per auris pectus inrigarier*; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 700 *uino ... aetatem irriges*.

10–12 aut ... laturus: the lines show the influence of Virgil’s idealization of this type of epic enterprise in the proem to *Georgics* book 3. There

the poet likens his future achievements to a hard-won military/athletic triumph; cf. esp. 46–7 *mox tamen ardentis accingar* (“I will put on my arms”) *dicere pugnas* | *Caesaris*. For the proem’s imagery as both epinician and triumphal, see Thomas *ad* 3.17–22, and cf. Vit. 7 pr. 4 comparing athletic prizes to literary prizes. At G. 3.112–14, Virgil describes the Olympic chariot race using the same nexus of passion, daring, and being “swept off” to victory as Treb. uses here to describe the epic enterprise. Such idealized images are subsequently cheapened by Treb.’s suggestion that the poet will profit handsomely from his praise of Caesar (see 12 n.). This perhaps recalls Cicero’s famous reproof of Treb. (*Fam.* 7.17.1) for taking such a low mercenary view of his post in Caesar’s retinue in Gaul; on which see Bowditch 2001: 18 and 24.

10 aude: the word occurs frequently in discussions of generic and stylistic innovation; see Brink *ad Ars* 10 and 286–7, and below 62–3 n. The irony here is that the type of poetry that H. is being urged to write has nothing “daring” about it either as political risk-taking or stylistic/generic innovation.

11 Caesaris: Octavian, victor at Actium. **inuicti** “unconquered/ invincible.” With the word, Treb. offers a sample of the kind of grand language that H. will have to use in praising Octavian as a military champion in an epic poem. Christes 1971: 73–4, and 2001 points out that the interlocutor’s advice in this poem’s Lucilian model instances certain of the verbal and stylistic features of the kind of grand, panegyric poetry that he is urging Lucilius to write, e.g. in the popping “battle noise” alliterations of fr. 714W = 621M *percrepa pugnam Popili, facta Corneli cane*. **res** “exploits,” referring to his *res gestae* “military achievements”; see OLD s.v. 7b.

12 praemia laturus “determined to win abundant prizes for your labors” likens the financial rewards of panegyric to the victor’s spoils, thus conflating the writer with the military champion he praises: his reward is both a “prize” won in an athletic/poetic contest (see 10–12 n., and cf. *Carm.* 4.8.3–4, *Ep.* 1.3.25) and it is like “war booty” (*Ep.* 2.2.37–8 (a general spurring an unwilling soldier/poet) *i, bone, quo uirtus tua te uocat ... grandia laturus meritorum praemia*). The model for the passage is Lucil. fr. 713–14W = 620–621M “take up this task in order to win praise and profit (*laudem ... ac fructum*) for yourself ... bluster on about Popilius’ battle, and sing the achievements of Cornelius [Scipio Aemilianus].” **cupidum:** sc. *me*. **uïres:** the refusal to write epic or some higher form of poetry was commonly put in terms of the god’s disapproval or the poet’s lack of ability, here literalized as (sc. martial) “strength”; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.258–9 where H. deflects an invitation to write of battles waged in distant places by citing his lack of “daring” (above 10 n.) and “strength,” i.e. the very qualities required of a general to fight the battles that the poet is being asked to

describe (above 10–12 n.). Further on poetic “refusals” (*recusationes*) in H., see Brink *ad loc.*, and Lyne 1995: 31–9. On the larger “politics of refusal” in ancient Rome, with special attention to *Ep.* 2.1, see Freudenburg 2014. In contrast to H., who repeatedly cites a failure of resolve, ability and/or strength, Lucilius seems to have put his refusal to write laudatory epic in book 26 (Latin poetry’s earliest *recusatio*) in terms of his having a rough and inflexible personality bent on telling the truth. Commonly cited as evidence for the Lucilian refusal is Lucil. fr. 691W = 622M “If I, given who I am and the skin/husk that I’m dressed in, am unable (*non queo*)”; see Christes 1971: 77, and Hass 2007: 204–14.

13–15 The military engagements specified in these lines, fought against enemies on the furthest fringes of the Roman world (Gaul to the north and distant west, and Parthia to the far east), cannot be identified securely with any of the more obvious or significant of Octavian’s recent military achievements. Referred to in these remote and historically hazy terms, Octavian’s military achievements look like so many other similar stories of the Roman epic tradition, with valiant Romans slaughtering the barbarian hordes on the fringes of the Roman *imperium*; cf. the promised epic of Virg. *G.* 3.17–33, restricted to distant foreign victories. The reality of Rome’s recent civil wars, which featured Romans killing Romans much closer to home, is nowhere in sight. On efforts made by Octavian in the aftermath of Actium to refashion his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra as a victory over “foreign” enemies, see Gurval 1995: 21–36.

13 horrentia pilis “bristling with javelins” is an Ennian turn of phrase with a chequered critical past. Ennius was abnormally fond of the “bristling” metaphor (*Ann.* 267 Sk., 384 Sk., *scen.* 140, *var.* 14), which he adapted from passages in Homer, such as *Il.* 13.339 ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη ... ἐγγεῖησι “and the battle bristled with spears,” and 7.61–2 στίχες ... ἀπείσι καὶ κορύθεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι “ranks bristling with shields and helmets and spears.” Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.601–2 (*ferreus hastis* | *horret ager*) notes that Lucilius isolated for censure in one of his satires precisely this metaphor in a verse of Ennius (referring to *var.* 14V from the *Scipio*; see Macrobius’ citation of the line below) and he adds that Horace had this famous critique of Ennius in mind when he wrote *S.* 1.10.54 *non ridet* [sc. Lucilius] *uersus Enni gravitate minores*? The offending metaphor is cited by Macr. 6.4.6 (glossing *Aen.* 11.601–2): “*horret*” *mire se habet. Sed et Ennius ... in “Scipione”: sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret.* The plodding repetition of words with the same endings (homoioteleuton) and of the same metrical shape makes this passage especially ripe for Lucilius’ brand of parody; see Freudenburg 2001: 87–92. On the “puzzle” of the disparaged line’s metre, see *FLP* 28–9.

15 labentis ... Parthi recalls a passage (= fr. 8 Courtney) from book 1 of M. Furius Bibaculus' *Annales Belli Gallici*, a neo-Ennian "Annals" devoted to Julius Caesar's Gallic campaigns: *ille graui subito deuictus uolnere habenas | misit equi lapsusque in humum defluxit*. Furius' lines, presumably describing the death of a Gallic chieftain, are modeled after similar descriptions of dying warriors in Ennius; see *FLP* 195–6. Elsewhere in the *Sermones* verses of Furius' *Annales* are mentioned only to be scathingly abused; cf. esp. *S.* 1.10.36 with Gowers *ad loc.* and 2.5.39–41 (see n.).

16 poteras "you could (but have not)." The tense expresses disappointment, see G–L §254.2, and 6–7 n. **scribere**, here with predicate adjectives, = "describe (Octavian) as both just and brave"; cf. *Carm.* 1.6.1. **fortem**: as an epithet suggesting "heroic and even epic status" see Thomas *ad Carm.* 4.2.43.

17 Scipiadam "(him) begot of Scipio's line" = *Scipionem*, the younger Africanus (65–6 n.). The patronymic invokes a decidedly Ennian laudatory grandeur. Before H. it occurs just three times: twice in Lucilius (Lucil. 424W = 394M *Scipiadae magno* and 254–5W = 1138–9M *Cornelius Publius noster | Scipiadus*), both times in hexameter poems where some form of periphrasis is required to deal with the problem of using a cretic name (Scipio ~ ~ ~) in hexametric verse (below 65–6 n.); cf. the use of *Memmiadae* at Lucr. 1.26, solving the same problem (Memmius is another cretic name). After Lucilius, *Scipiadas* occurs next at Lucr. 3.1034 within a heavily Ennian context (see Kenney *ad loc.* and *ad* 1025, 1035), and there it refers not to Scipio Aemilianus but to the Elder Africanus. This suggests that the patronymic, though first attested by Lucilius, was actually first used by Ennius (likely as his own invention) in his account of the Second Punic War in books 7–9 of the *Annales*; see Skutsch 1968: 148, and Harrison 2008: 240. **sapiens**: the adjective here has an adverbial force = "wisely." Lucilius refused to write panegyric epic, with its obvious and inevitable excesses (see 12 n.). Instead he admitted into his *Satires* vignettes of his private life with Scipio, depicting him as a "fair" and "stalwart" friend; cf. Porph. *ad* 16–17 (confusing Lucilius' Scipio (the younger Africanus = Aemilianus) with Ennius' (the elder Africanus)) *Lucilius ... uitam illius priuatam descripsit, Ennius uero bella. haud mihi dero* (= *deero*) "I won't let myself down." In litotes the verb = *praesto esse* "to be there for" (*OLD desum* 2). Here the phrase is colored by its earlier, overconfident use by "the bore" at 1.9.56.

18 cum res ipsa feret "when circumstances allow" (*OLD fero* 21); cf. [Sal.] *ad Caes. sen.* 2.7.3 *quoad res feret. nisi dextro tempore* "unless the time is right." Poets often worried that their poems would catch Caesar at a bad time, when he was engrossed in something else, sick or in a bad mood; see Mayer *ad Ep.* 1.13.3 and cf. Vitruv. 1 pr. 1. Occurring within a discussion of

praise poetry, the phrase also recalls the principle of “the right degree” that was central to Pindar’s epinician program. In Pindar, *καιρός*, lit. “the right moment,” has both a moral and stylistic valence, signifying an ideal “balance” achieved in singing praise that is neither tepid nor bombastic; see Willcock 1995: 17, and Ford 2002: 16–20. There may also be a pun here on *tempus* as metrical time; cf. 1.4.58 *tempora certa modosque*, *OLD tempus* 13, and LSJ *χρόνος* IV.2. In this sense, the deferral of Caesar’s praise to “the right time” would point to the poet’s forthcoming *Odes*. **Flacci:** H.’s cognomen, lit. “Flop-eared,” contrasts with the “pricked up” and “attentive” ears of Octavian (next line). For drooping ears as a symbol of flagging strength, cf. 1.9.20–1, where H. likens himself to an ass whose ears sag when he is set with a burden that exceeds his strength; cf. Virg. *G.* 3.500 *demissae aures* (of a sick horse), and Stat. *Theb.* 11.745 *demissas... aures* (a lion weakened by age). Further on these lines as a pun on H.’s cognomen, see Parker 2000: 460–1.

19 attentam “pricked up,” i.e. attentive and eager to listen, contrasting the flop-ears of Flaccus. H. has the ears of an ass (prev. n.), Octavian those of a noble steed (next n.); cf. Lucr. 6.920 *attentas aures animumque reposco*.

20 palpere: deponent, c. dat. Porph. *ad loc.* points out that the word is to be taken in both its metaphorical (“flatter”) and literal sense (“stroke” or “pet”): *metaforicos: cui si adularis, offenditur. palpari proprie. manu mulcere*. Petted and with ears pricked up, Caesar is humorously compared to a skittish horse (*translatio ab equis*, [Acro] *ad loc.*) stroked by a would-be rider; cf. rioters compared to ill-bred horses brought to heel by an expert statesman/horseman at Virg. *Aen.* 1.152–3 *arrectisque auribus ... pectora mulcet. recalcitrat undique tutus* “he kicks his hooves this way and that to protect himself.” This is the only known use of the picturesque verb *recalcitrare* before the late third century CE. It occurs nowhere else in Latin verse. The image painted by the term is that of a temperamental *equus calcitrosus* wildly flailing with its hooves; cf. Var. *Men.* 479 *itaque tum eum mordacem, calcitronem, horridum miles | acer non uitabit*, quoted by Non. p. 64, 2 “*calcitrones*”: *qui infestent calcibus*. Lowrie 2009: 343–4 connects the image of Octavian as a high-strung and dangerous horse to the larger legal discourse of the poem by referring it to Roman laws concerned with injurious quadrupeds. The earliest of these laws is recorded in the Twelve Tables (VIII.6) and was later expanded to cover issues of an owner’s legal liability in cases where someone petting a horse gets kicked (*Digest* 9.1.7 = Ulpian 18 *ad edictum*). For *tutus* meaning “keeping oneself safe,” see Brink *ad Ars* 28. There is perhaps a reference here to Solon fr. 36W “making a defence on all sides (ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν ποιούμενος), I turned like a wolf among dogs.”

21 hoc “this,” i.e. writing satires that put Caesar’s virtues on display.

22 To exemplify the kind of “bitter verse” that, he thinks, puts H. at risk, Treb. recalls a line from book 1 (a near quote of 8.11) belittling two destitute *luxuriosi* by name (*nominatim*), each defined by a specific comic role: Pantolabus, a professional party-goer (*scurra*), and Nomentanus, a bankrupt wastrel (*nepos*). Pantolabus (“Grab-all” = Gk πάντα + λαβεῖν) has a name perfectly suited to his role; see Gowers *ad* 1.8.11, and cf. Porcius “the Pig” at 8.23 below (see n.). Because of his tight association with Nomentanus, Pantolabus is often considered a type character inherited from Lucilius. But the evidence for this is highly conjectural since the name Nomentanus appears in Lucilius only by dint of emendation (in both frs. 80–1 and 82W = 69–70 and 56M). On *scurrae* in H., see Damon 1997: 105–45. On *nepotes*, see Heller 1962.

In the end it cannot be known whether these men are to be taken as fictions of H.’s own design, type characters inherited from Lucilius, aliases for persons known but not named, or contemporaries actually living under those names. The more important point is that H. targets by name (*nominatim*) persons of such little account that their historical significance is negligible, in fact making their very existence hard to prove. In contrast, cf. below 67–8 (see nn.) where a second pair of satire’s victims is cited under the names Metellus and Lupus, powerful and politically prominent statesmen once famously “wounded” by Lucilius. The contrast between H.’s pair of targets and Lucilius’, and thus between two types of satire, is both deliberate and stark.

23 The line recalls the apology of 1.4.25–33 where H. claimed that those who are guilty (*culpari dignos*) hate him out of fear for themselves, even though his writings are mild in tone and seek no public acclaim. Versions of Treb.’s warning appear in the programmatic first satires of Persius (107–8) and Juvenal (166–8); see Kenney 1962. All three passages point back to a common source in Lucilius, most likely in book 26, his earliest published work, which seems to have featured a conversation between the satirist and a concerned and cautious friend; see Muecke p. 99, and Hass 2007: 207–8.

24–9 A mock priamel (“preamble”), the first of several “mock-lyric” gestures in the book (see 6.16–23 nn.). The device was much used by lyric writers, esp. Pindar, and most famously by Sappho (fr. 16), to isolate the poet’s peculiar passions and talents by comparing them to the pursuits of others; see Race 1982, and N–H on *Carm.* 1.1, which constitutes the prime example of the device in Latin. Here it is used to express the unflattering idea that H.’s satiric writing, like Milonius’ drunken dancing (next n.) and Pollux’s passion for boxing, is a natural urge that he can neither control nor repress.

24 Milonius is otherwise unknown. The scholiasts describe him as a hard-drinking *scurra* who would spring into dance (treated here as an irrepressible “natural” urge) whenever he was drunk. Well-bred Romans regarded dancing as undignified and servile, but some few among them were quite enthusiastic about it, and highly trained; see Horsfall 2003: 34–6. For a typical hard line taken against dancing, cf. Cic. *Mur.* 13. **icto** “blasted,” i.e. as if struck on the head and reeling/seeing double from the blow (see next n.).

25 accessit is to be taken with both subject nouns in different senses (syllepsis): as the seething/enthusiasm “reaches” Milonius’ head (*OLD accedo* 4c), the lamps have their “sum” (*OLD numerus* 2) “added on” (*OLD accedo* 15), i.e. their total is doubled, as Milonius begins to see double. On seeing multiple lamps when drunk, see Watson and Watson 2014 *ad* *Juv.* 6.305 *geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis*. **capiti**: on the head as the seat of the intellect affected by wine, see *OLD caput* 1d.

26 prognatus “the one sprung from,” i.e. Pollux, Castor’s twin brother. Normally the dignified term is paired with the name of an impressive parent to produce a stately periphrasis; e.g. Liv. 1.40.3 *Romulus deo prognatus deus*. Here the divine parent (Jupiter) is comically supplanted by the lowly egg from which the twins were hatched; cf. Gowers *ad* 1.2.70 on the Ennian mock-epic effect of *magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum* (an obscenely irreverent golden line).

27 The anomaly of twin brothers living opposite lives was much explored in Greek and Roman drama and popular philosophy; see Brink *ad* *Ep.* 2.2.183–9; cf. 3.168–86 n. Here it is explained by a version of the well-worn proverb *quot homines tot sententiae*; see Otto 166–7, and Kissel *ad* *Pers.* 5.52–61.

28–9 At 1.4.40–1 H. tells his detractors, the *fautores Lucili*, that being able to “enclose/finish off a verse” (*concludere uersum*) does not make one a poet, and at 1.10.59–60 he suggests that Lucilius composed at such breakneck speed that, when it came to versification, his aim was merely “to shut something in a six-foot frame” (*pedibus quid claudere senis*), i.e. make lines that, however awkwardly, scanned as hexameters. In both cases the notion of “closing” has a sense not just of finishing (*OLD concludo* 6 and 7, and *claudio* 10) but of “restricting” or “keeping contained,” as if Lucilius’ hexameters were a force of nature, like the wind or a stormy sea (*OLD concludo* 1a and *claudio* 5), or a wild animal confined to a six-foot cage; cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 610 *concludo in uincla bestiam nequissimam*, and Cic. *Fin.* 5.56 *bestiae ... quas delectationis causa concludimus*. For H. the *mot juste* for careful versification is normally *componere* not *concludere*; see Freudenburg 1993: 180–92. But throughout this passage, and the poem more generally, H.

plays with his rivals' pet theory by inviting us to see satire in their terms, i.e. as an irrepressible force of nature that is best left unchecked and in its "natural" (even if somewhat wild) state.

29 nostrum melioris utroque "better/nobler than either of us." The phrase is reminiscent of Hom. *Il.* 21.107, where Achilles mockingly "consoles" Lycaon just as he is about to kill him, by reminding him that "even Patroclus has died, and he was a better man by far than you"; cf. Kenney on the *consolatio* of Lucr. 3.1024–52 (esp. 1026 *qui melior multis quam tu*). Here the epic phrase provides a mocking justification of H.'s pursuit of satire, as if to say "who am I to resist the urge, sure as death, that even the Great Lucilius (may he rest in peace) gave in to."

30 arcana: the term is ironically poised to speak both positively and negatively at the same time: taken to refer to the poet's "inner thoughts" (*OLD arcanus* 1b), the word puts Lucilius in league with neoteric poets, such as Calvus and Catullus, by acknowledging the skill with which he divulged his inmost feelings in poetic verse; cf. Catul. 50.16–17. On the veneration of the neoterics by Lucilius' defenders, see Gowers *ad* 1.10.19, and on the larger question of the Callimachean features of Lucilian satire, see Puelma Piwonka 1949. Taken to refer to "secrets" entrusted to him for safekeeping, the term evokes the scandal-mongering charge of Lucil. fr. 672–3W = 651–2M. **sodalibus** "close friends" or "chums." The scholia note that the basic metaphor at play here (i.e. books as intimate friends to whom the poet feels free to tell all) comes from Aristoxenus, the fourth-century Gk philosopher who wrote numerous treatises on music. Porph. *ad loc.* claims that in one of these works Aristoxenus said that Sappho and Alcaeus treated their books as intimate friends (*uolumina sua loco sodalium habuisse*). [Acro] says that Aristoxenus made this claim of Anacreon and Alcaeus. In either case, the claim provides valuable early evidence for the construal of lyric poetry as confessional and concerned with the articulation of the poet's inner emotional state. Since satire's secrets include the indiscretions, embarrassments and hidden crimes of others as much as the poet's own embarrassments and inmost thoughts, H.'s use of Aristoxenus' famous dictum here is double-edged. For the possibility that H. here mocks his opponents' fondness for the "books as friends" metaphor in their defense of Lucilius as a good, "confessional" neoteric, see Freudenburg 2010: 277–8. Krenkel 1970a: 211–12, n. 240 suggests that Lucilius himself may have used the metaphor to describe his books as his most trusted friends; see also Hass 2007: 180–1.

31 si male cesserat "if things went badly" (*OLD cedo* 7a). Lambinus proposed reading *cesserat* for *gesserat*. The latter requires a direct object *rem* (supplied by some editors), but the former had the support of only a few

printed editions. The proposal was largely ignored for 150 years. Bentley made a vigorous defense of *eruditissimus Lambinus* in his 1707–11 edition *ad loc.*, but only later did the grammatically superior *cesserat* prove to have solid manuscript support; see Bo's apparatus *ad loc.*

32 decurrens: the verb means to "turn to" or "have recourse to" (*OLD decurro* 9), but with the added implication of headlong haste: as if to say "go barreling down to." The term was commonly used of armies fleeing in haste (synonymous with *confugere*; see Fedeli *ad loc.*), and rushing rivers; cf. *Carm.* 4.2.5 *monte decurrens uelut amnis*, with further examples at *OLD decurro* 2a. Harrison 1987: 48 takes its use here as an allusion to H.'s "earlier comparisons of Lucilius' style to a relentless flow of water"; cf. *Juv.* 1.19, where H.'s negative is reclaimed as a positive, as Juvenal declares his determination "to fly down over the battle-ground" (*decurrere campo*) that Lucilius once fought upon. **alio:** the adverb is to be construed closely with *neque ... usquam* in the sense "nowhere else."

32–4 omnis: modifies *uita senis* two lines below to constitute the longest hyperbaton in all of Horace. A second adjectival element (*descripta*) is added in the next line to form a drawn-out hyperbaton chain (*omnis ... descripta ... uita*), the first and last elements of which frame a second hyperbaton (*uotiuua ... tabella*) that stretches the entire length of line 33. Fraenkel 1957: 151 saw that the long delay between *omnis* and *uita* gives a sense of the extensiveness of Lucilius' writings "as they lay in thirty books spread out before the reader." On the interlacing of adjective–noun pairs ("double hyperbaton") in Latin poetry, esp. as a means of spatially representing meaning, see Hoffer 2007. Given that the device was so strongly associated with the neoterics, the elaborate stylization of these lines may have a satiric point: H. may be mocking his rivals by exaggerating one of their most prominent stylistic tics, i.e. "praising" Lucilius in their (easily derided) terms. Further on the interlaced adjectives of these lines, and the failure of *uotiuua tabella* to contain the poet's "whole ... drawn ... life," see Freudenburg 2010: 274–5, and cf. a similar "long" ... "life" hyperbaton in the fourth verse of the elogium of P. Cornelius Scipio, Africanus' son (*CIL* 1².10) *quibus si in longa licuisset tibi utier uita*; on which, see van Sickle 1987.

33 uotiuua: votive tablets pictured a subject (the one who commissioned the painting) at a moment of imminent doom, e.g. fixed to his deathbed, or caught in a storm at sea, looking to the god for help. Such paintings were expressions of thanks for "prayers" (*uota*) answered, and were a ubiquitous feature of temples and healing shrines throughout the Greco-Roman world; see N–H *ad Carm.* 1.5.13–14, Courtney *ad Juv.* 12.27–8. The basic analogy drawn here between poetry and painting (*ut pictura poesis*) is

“as old as literary theory” itself (Brink *ad Ars* 361–5, p. 369), but here the paintings in question were notoriously commonplace and cheaply produced; see Anderson 1982: 32, and Freudenburg 2010: 277–8.

34–9 As K–H first made clear, in these lines H. implies that there is a causal link between his satire and his origins in south Italy. His hometown of Venusia (Venosa, see Map 1) was situated at a major crossroads in western Apulia, and was within clear eyeshot of the mountains of Lucania to the west. Centuries before H. was born, the city had served as a stronghold of resistance against Rome in the Samnite Wars of the early third century BCE. The site (presumably already known as Venusia) was captured and re-founded as a Roman colony in 291 BCE. Two centuries later, Venusia re-emerged as an insurgent stronghold when it became the only Latin colony to join the rebel side in the Social War. The city was taken by siege in 88 BCE, and Williams 1995 has made an excellent case for supposing that it was in the aftermath of this particular siege that H.’s grandfather and father were taken prisoners and sold into slavery. H.’s ancestral farm was located directly on the border that separated Apulia from Lucania (see next n.). It is possible that the farm straddled both sides of the border, or that it was entirely on the Lucanian side.

H. describes the combative history of his native region from a patriotic Roman perspective, by featuring a farmer-colonist productively working lands that were once overrun by insurgents. It is understood that, since he has been put there to keep the peace, the farmer will take up his sword if attacked. Both K–H and Muecke take H.’s point to be that he descends from the bellicose Sabellians (see 36 n.) and is therefore bellicose himself; cf. Courtney 2013a: 128: “Horace claims to have inherited his bellicosity from his Samnite ancestors.” But H. does not actually claim that he descends exclusively from the region’s violent native stock. The verses immediately following suggest that H. is an odd and somewhat contradictory hybrid of the insurgent and the peace-keeping farmer: a “bellicose defender” who, while advocating a love of peace, is full of aggressive threats and easily riled.

34 senis: Lucilius’ biographers have tended to put a heavy burden on this word, taking it to prove that Lucilius only began writing satire in his old age; see, e.g., Marx, vol. I: xxiii, and Warmington ix. But the point here concerns how very long the life was that he wrote into his poems, not that he wrote satire only in his old age. **anceps** “not sure.” While the town of Venusia was itself solidly within the borders of Apulia, H.’s father farmed an estate at the base of the *Mons Vultur*, 9 miles west of the city, and right on the line between Apulia and Lucania (the mountain itself marked the boundary between these two regions in antiquity); see N–R *ad*

Carm. 3.4.9–10 and Russi in *Enc. Or.* vol. I sez. 6, esp. pp. 389–90. Sirago 1958: 26 gathered up all the available evidence to show that H. only “plays with” being a Lucanian (*nugans*) in this one instance, but that he is elsewhere always a proud Apulian. Muecke *ad loc.* suggests that H. plays with being from Lucania “to associate himself more closely with Lucilius’s fighting spirit,” but perhaps also to form a connection with Treb., who was from Velia in Lucania. Treb. himself seems to have had a history of rebellion in his family; see Salmon 1967: 357, n. 4, and Williams 2009: 145. On the ethnic identities of Roman citizens of south Italian origin, and their reputation for fierce independence, see Dench 1995: 103–7, and Farney 2007: 179–228.

36 ad hoc “for this purpose” points ahead to the final clause of the next line **Sabellis** “Sabellians.” The term refers not to Sabines *per se*, but to the Oscan-speaking peoples of central and southern Italy; see Salmon 1967: 32–3. For the term *sabellus* as a comparatively late Roman invention that artificially classifies a wide variety of peoples as members of the same group, see Dench 1995: 186–203. Their odd designation as “Little Sabines” allowed these peoples (e.g. Samnites, Lucanians, Apulians, et al.; see Clackson and Horrocks 2007: 48–65) to posit cultural and familial connections between themselves and one of the oldest and most respected ethnic groups at Rome; see Farney 2007: 206–10.

37 quo ne “to keep (the enemy) from” (*OLD quo* 3a). The replacement of *ut* by *quo* in a negative final clause is rare. For further examples, see L–H–S 680 and Alföldy 1989: 161–3.

39 incuteret means to “shake” in a menacing way, as one would a sword or a spear by waving it in an enemy’s face (*OLD incutio* 2b). Here the word is used figuratively, with enemies “brandishing war” against Rome. **stilus**: a writing instrument made of metal, ivory or bone. The sharp end of the stylus was used to etch letters into wax. Often compared to a sword (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 2.34), in some extreme cases the stylus was actually used as a weapon; see Cribiore 2005: 156–8.

40 ueluti ... ensis: Juv. 1.165 uses these words to describe Lucilius “blazing with drawn sword.” Courtney *ad loc.* speculates that Juvenal may have taken the image from Lucilius himself. Thus the portrait that H. paints of himself here, with his epic sword (*ensis*) kept snug in its sheath, may both recall and humorously contrast the image of Lucilius as an epic warrior attacking with drawn sword. **custodiet** suggests the safe-keeping of a bodyguard (*custos*).

42–4 The prayer is modeled on the curse of Catul. 66.48 *Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat*, itself a precise rendering of Callim. *Aet.* fr. 110.48.

43 *ut* for *utinam* is found primarily in imprecations and prayer formulae of early Latin; see *OLD* s.v. 42, *NLS* §113, and *OLS* 499–500. **positum** “set aside” or “put down.” **robigne** “rust” was a common metaphor for malicious invective; see Evans 2008: 135–45. Here it is imagined eating away at the satiric weapon itself; cf. Virg. *G.* 1.495.

44 **cupido** “eager/itching for” expects not “peace” but “a fight,” as at Caes. *Gal.* 1.2.4 characterizing the Helvetii as *homines bellandi cupidi*. Here H. plays to his own ethnic stereotype as a fractious south Italian peace-keeper from “Venus Town” (see 34–9 n.) beset by an inborn “lust” for peace that he cannot control. Elsewhere in H. the adjective *cupidus* is always strongly negative, and nowhere outside of this poem (here and in line 13 above) does H. use it to describe himself. On the symbolic potentials of poets seeking peace, see Hunter 2006: 16–28, and N–H *ad Carm.* 1.1.32 *secernunt populo*.

45 **commorit** = *commouerit*.

46 **insignis tota cantabitur urbe** “he will be conspicuous in song throughout the entire city.” Bursting with overdone bravado, the threat connects H.’s soft-spoken brand of satire to the long outmoded (and by now dangerously “illegal”) public shaming chants of early Republican Rome, on which see Graf 2005. H. will have his nose rubbed in his threat by the most prominent of his vilified victims, Canidia (see next n.), at *Epod.* 17.59 *impune ut urbem nomine implevis meo?* In its specific wording, H.’s threat bears a powerful resemblance to Ov. *Am.* 1.15.13, projecting world-wide fame for Callimachus through song: *Battiades semper toto cantabitur orbe*. It is likely that a Callimachean original, or a Latin version of that original, underlies Ovid’s claim, and perhaps H.’s scaled back (city-wide) version of it as well; see McKeown *ad Am.* 1.3.25 and N–H *ad Carm.* 2.20.14. **cantabitur**: the iterative form suggests a repeated song, such as ritual chant, hymnal refrain or incantation; see Habinek 2005: 66–75. This is one of only seven uses of a future passive form of the verb *cantare* in classical Latin. The other six all concern fame achieved through song. Only here does the poet boast that his song will produce widespread infamy.

47–9 The persons named serve as “analogues for the satirist” (Muecke *ad loc.*) as each represents a different, as if “inborn,” predisposition for fighting back against those who threaten them. H. follows his threat to make his victims famous by doing exactly that, i.e. naming three persons whose long-standing notoriety (by now exceeding two thousand years) stems either largely or entirely from their being made fun of in these lines.

47 **Ceruius**: otherwise unknown, is an unscrupulous *accusator*. On the moral stigma that attached to reckless and/or persistent legal prosecution

in Rome, see Rutledge 1999, and Alexander 2002: 13–14. **minitatur**: iterative, to reflect the persistence of Cervius' accusations; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 130. **urnam**: judges deposited their votes for guilt or innocence into an urn.

48 Canidia: the darkly comical witch figure who is the pre-eminent concern of *S.* 1.8, *Epod.* 5 and 17. Besides starring centrally in those poems, Canidia is the butt of several off-hand insults in the satires and epodes, as she is here and in the last line of the book (see below 8.95 n.); see Watson 541–2 and 46 n. above. Her incantations backfire in *S.* 1.8 when, instead of conjuring thunder from the sky and splitting snakes or the earth (common effects of a witch's magical rites; cf. e.g. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.71, Luc. *Pharsalia* 6.467 and 728), Canidia ends up eliciting a thunderclap from Priapus' bowels and splitting his wooden posterior. Canidia broods over the epodes as a rival ἐπώδης “singer of enchantments,” and a dangerously vindictive scorned lover (cf. Medea, Ariadne, Dido) whom H. is not man enough to satisfy. The literature on Canidia is vast. For useful summaries, see most recently Gowers 264–5 and 273–4, Johnson 2012: 100–1 n. 48–9, and Mankin 2010: 99–100. For the specific magical rites plied by Canidia, with emphasis on their ethical and political import, see Watson 174–91. **Albuci**: Canidia's victim (objective genitive), e.g. an errant lover poisoned by her or, following the rhetorical pattern pursued by Cicero against Clodia, a tedious husband conveniently dispatched so that she could pursue affairs with younger men. On the *topos* of the adulteress-poisoner in Roman rhetoric, see Santoro L'Hoir 1992: 40–6, and cf. Sen. *Con.* 7.3.6, and Quint. *Inst.* 5.11.39.

49 grande malum “huge trouble.” The phrase renders a colloquial Greek phrase in Latin; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 729 *dabo tibi* μέγα κακόν, with the note of MacCary and Willcock 1976 *ad* 728. **Turius**: the scholiasts identify him as a corrupt judge who in 75 BCE presided over the corruption trial of a certain A. Terentius Varro, in a case prosecuted by Cicero and defended by Hortensius; see Broughton *MRR*, vol. II: 97. The context here suggests that the Turius in question used his position to settle personal scores.

50–3 The lines are a pastiche of Lucretian sentiments and language drawn from Lucr. 5.1028–90, where the poet argues that Nature drove primitive men to utter inarticulate sounds just as she teaches calves to butt before their horns appear and panther cubs to bite and claw before their teeth and claws are formed. The implication is that H. writes satire out of an inborn instinct for self-protection. For a similar pastiche, see Gowers *ad* 1.3.99–124, the mock-Épicurean evolution of satiric man, where fists and claws eventually give way to words. Further on the motif “each animal follows its own nature, and therefore so must I,” see Leach 1966: 438, n. 29 on Virg. *Ecl.* 2.65 *trahit sua quemque uoluptas*, and Cucchiarelli 2012a *ad loc.*

50 *ut* “how” depends upon *collige* in the next line. **quo quisque ualet** “with that in which each is strong,” i.e. using his strongest weapon; cf. Lucr. 5.1033.

51 collige “reckon up” the facts to form a conclusion (*OLD colligo* 11 = Gk συλλογίζεσθαι).

52 The argument that every creature protects itself with the peculiar weapon that nature has equipped it with is at least as old as Xen. *Cyr.* 2.3.9, where the examples of a bull, a horse, a dog and a boar are cited. The animals named in this line bear a special, hidden relevance to H.’s argument, as both were common symbols of iambic aggression: the wolf was closely associated with Archilochus, and the bull with Hipponax; see Watson 251–65 on the several animal analogies of *Epod.* 6, Davis 1999, and Johnson 2012: 107–8.

53 monstratum “shown how” or “taught”; see *OLD monstro* 2, and cf. 8.52 below. **Scaevae**: dat. in agreement with *nepoti*. Whether this refers to an actual matricidal spendthrift named Scaeva is unknown. Here the common cognomen is exploited for its meaning, as “Lefty” refuses to lay his “pious right hand” on his aged mother (he will dispatch her with poison instead). For the practice of exploiting *cognomina* as indicators of bad character in late Republican oratory, see Corbeill 1996: 57–98. **uiuacem** “too long lived” takes us into Scaeva’s perspective, as he cannot wait for his mother to die so that he can inherit her wealth. For a similar scenario, see Juv. 14.248–55. **mirum** is either sarcastic (“what a surprise!”) or a question (“is it a surprise?”).

55 ut “considering how” (*OLD* s.v. 22).

56 uitatio “tainted,” sc. by the infusion of poison.

57 ne longum faciam: H. uses the same phrase at 1.3.137. The satires and epistles have a great variety of such self-checking formulae, which tend to appear in contexts where (as here) the satirist catches himself going on too long in a hectoring philosophical mode. For such gestures signaling an adherence to Callimachean principles of style, with special relevance to the restraint shown by the Hipponax of Callimachus’ *Iambs*, see Cucchiarelli 2012b: 177–80.

58 exspectat ... alis: the line’s meter slows to a funereal pace (all spondees, except for the dactylic fifth foot) as Death is imagined as a black-winged vulture or bird of prey spinning circles over H.’s head. Such a grand and funny way of saying “or if I am soon to die” (“a phrase redolent of epic phraseology,” Courtney 2013a: 128) finds H. casting himself as a young hero tragically doomed to die before his time; cf. the dark gloom that flutters about the head of Marcellus to signal his premature death at *Aen.* 6.866. The image described here has been thought to recall the

black-winged *Thanatos* of Euripides' *Alcestis* (see Muecke *ad loc.*). For later parallels, cf. Grat. 347–8, Stat. *Theb.* 1.51, Man. 5.488.

60 scribam: the verb is underscored by being dislocated to the subordinate clause. The precise effect achieved by such a bold dislocation (hyperbaton) is far from certain; cf. Fordyce 1961 *ad Catul.* 44.8, citing this line: “both Catullus and Horace may have had in mind an effect which eludes us.” But Housman 1972: 140 saw in the jumbled word-arrangement of 1.3.103–4 (a mock-Epicurean evolution of language; see above 50–3 n.) an attempt to reproduce Lucretius' ideas in Lucretius' signature style: “such dislocations of sentences are a marked feature of many poetic styles in Latin, and none more than Lucretius.” Here the dislocation may be thought to produce a similar effect. **color** “complexion” = “quality” or “condition” (*OLD* s.v. 5).

60–1 ut sis | uitalis metuo “I'm afraid you may not be long for this world” (trans. Rudd), a parody of Thetis' warning to Achilles at Hom. *Il.* 18:95 (“from what you say, my child, you are doomed to a short life”); see Edwards 1905: 29, and K–H *ad loc.* Lejay connects Treb.'s warning to a proverb quoted by the Elder Seneca (*Con.* 1.1.22) on how talent that flourishes young is doomed to fizzle. On the connection made here between friendship and “vitality,” cf. Laelius' discussion of a “life that stays alive” (i.e. is worth living) at Cic. *Amic.* 22. It is uncertain whether Ennius used the phrase (itself a calque of Gk βίος βιωτός) in reference to friendship, or from what poem Laelius quotes it. Further on Laelius, see below 65 n. **maiorum** makes better sense as a partitive genitive (“some lofty friend of yours”) than an objective one (“someone with friends more important than you”). There is also a “boy” (*puer*) versus “elders” (*maiores*) contrast in play.

62 frigore “cold.” The idea that the poet's friendships will turn icy, and that he will be socially frozen out (*OLD* *frigor* 6) is conveyed in the language of a trusted physician who worries that H. will catch cold (*OLD* s.v. 3) and die of it. Combining the sentiments of this line with *Epod.* 2.7–8, Pers. 1.108–9 literalizes the chill felt by the satirist by having us imagine him locked outside.

62–3 ausus | primus: the same phrase occurs at Lucr. 1.67 where it describes the *Graius homo* (Epicurus) who first dared (*ausus primusque*) to lift his eyes against the monster *Religio* and burst through Nature's portals; cf. Liv. 7.2 on the “daring” of Livius Andronicus: *qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere*. Most uses of the *qui primus* motif in Augustan poetry (looking back to Ennius *Annales* frs. 208–10 Sk.) monumentalize the writer's own poetic achievements (*primus ego*), not those of a precursor; see, e.g., *Ep.* 1.19.21–4, Virg. *G.* 3.10–12, and Prop. 3.1.3–4. But here,

leaving aside the stylistic debates of S. 1.4 and 1.10, H. defers to Lucilius as the brave man who first charted his genre's path. Lucilius' "daring" is both a matter of his being the genre's *inventor*, and of his having written so boldly against powerful men, and on such precarious political themes. H. does not reduce Lucilius to the "politically combative" qualities that his predecessor put on magnificent display in several poems, but later writers of satire and critics of the genre tended to take what H. says here, and at the beginning of S. 1.4, as constituting the sum of what Lucilius amounted to, defining outspoken and long outdated ("Old" Comic) political aggression as the signature quality that differentiates Lucilius' satires from those of the genre's *auctor* ("originator"), Ennius. Further on the *ego primus* motif in Latin poetry, with special attention to the motif's background in Ennius, see Conte 1992: 153–9, 1994: 303–4, and Volk 2002: 114–18; for the motif's connection to Roman military *res gestae*, see Hinds 1998: 54–5 and Farrell 2002: 40–4 (with special reference to Lucilius). For a parody of the motif, see 8.51 below.

63 in hunc operis componere carmina morem: usually this is taken to mean that Lucilius was the first to compose poems "in this genre" (Evans 2008: 138) or "of this kind" (Muecke), but the Latin is rather more particular, as it concerns not the genre itself (*OLD opus* 3), but the genre's "habit" or "fashion," with strong emphasis put upon *morem* by its lengthy postponement. Taking this into account, a closer rendering of the Latin would be: "Lucilius was the first to compose the genre's poems after *this* particular fashion," i.e. he was the first to make *this* (sc. political outspokenness) the genre's signature feature. By way of his studied language, H. indicates that Lucilius was not the first to write satire, but to establish its signature *mos*. For *in morem* meaning "after/in accordance with the fashion" see Thomas *ad Carm.* 4.1.28.

64 detrahare et pellem "pull off the skin" refers to Aesop's fable of the ass parading in the lion's skin (= Perry 358); cf. *Ep.* 1.16.45. The fable provides a solid moral rationale for aggressive speech, and was perhaps used as an apology for satire by Lucilius. On Lucilius' moral defense of his satires, e.g. as tools for exposing vice, see Knoche 1975: 43–4. Further on skin as a "deceptive camouflage" of vice, see Bramble 1974: 153–4.

65 Laelius: Gaius Laelius (*RE* Laelius 3, *OCD* Laelius 2) was Scipio Aemilianus' elder protégé and long-time friend. As consul in 140 BCE Laelius proposed a land reform bill that Scipio supported, but he subsequently withdrew it in the face of senatorial opposition. Laelius outlived Scipio by several years and delivered the laudation at Scipio's funeral. Cicero featured Laelius as the lead interlocutor in his *De amicitia* (also known as the *Laelius*), and it was largely because he was made to play his role with such sagacity and good sense there that Laelius came to be

idealized as the very picture of an aristocratic Roman friend; see esp. Cic. *Amic.* 69.

65–6 qui ... nomen: the elaborate periphrasis refers to P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (*RE* Cornelius 335), who earned the honorific cognomen Africanus (already inherited) after his defeat of Carthage in 146 BCE. Vell. 2.9.4 relates that Lucilius served under Scipio as a cavalryman at the siege of Numantia (134/133 BCE). That late-career victory yielded a second triumph for Scipio, and a second cognomen, Numantinus. H. circuitously “names” Scipio by way of his most famous victory not only to impress upon Treb. the incomparably high political standing of Lucilius’ friends, but because the cognomen *Scipio*, as a cretic word (˘ ˘ ˘), cannot scan in hexameters unless it is metrically contorted to fit a hexameter line; see 17 n., and Freudenburg 2001: 92, n. 126.

67 ingenio “inborn proclivities” (*OLD ingenium* 1 and 3), but hinting at the “poetic talent” (*OLD* s.v. 5) that Lucilius found equally hard to restrain; cf. Gowers *ad* 1.4.43–4 and 10.62–3, where Lucilius’ *ingenium* implies a decided lack of *ars* (“un-Callimachean prolixity”); cf. Ov. *Tr.* 2.424 *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*. Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (*RE* Metellus 94), consul in 143 BCE, was a powerful political opponent of Scipio, but according to Cic. *Off.* 1.25.87 the two men managed to maintain a civil relationship between themselves (both were bitter enemies of Ti. Gracchus). As censor in 131 BCE Metellus delivered a famous speech, fragments of which were subsequently preserved by Gellius (1.6.1–2), urging unmarried citizens to put up with the “bother” (*molestia*) of married life, not to gratify their own lusts but for the sake of the well-being of the state. The speech was mercilessly lampooned by Lucilius in his twenty-sixth book (his earliest), in a rant against marriage spoken by a jaded husband, or by someone resigned to doing his civic duty. Metellus’ speech was later used by Augustus to support his marriage legislation before the senate (Suet. *Aug.* 89), and Lucilius’ poem lampooning Metellus’ speech became an important source for Juvenal’s sixth satire. Further on the Metellus lampoon in Lucilius, see Cichorius 1908: 133–42, and Hass 2007: 58–61.

68 Lupo: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus (*RE* Cornelius 224) was consul in 156 BCE, a censor in 147, then *princeps senatus* from 131 until shortly before his death in 125 or 124 BCE. Like Metellus (see previous n.), Lupus was a long-time political rival of Scipio. Lucilius ridiculed him as a cruel and corrupt judge in his twenty-eighth book (805–11 W = 784–90 M), and upon his death he staged a trial of Lupus in heaven, a mock-epic send-up of the *concilium deorum* that convened to consider the apotheosis of Romulus in the first book of Ennius’ *Annales*. In the Lucilian parody, the deceased Lupus is defended by an effete, philhellene

god (likely Apollo) and prosecuted by an austere and tradition-minded god (likely Romulus) who, standing in for the elder Cato, berates Lupus, himself a former censor, for having indulged his luxurious, Greek-loving *mores* while presuming to censor his fellow Romans. For details of the plot and inner workings of the satire, the first poem of Lucilius' first book, see Krenkel 1970b, vol. I: 63–4, Connors 2005: 127–9, and Freudenburg 2015. On the parody of Ennius in Lucilius' first satire, see Gratwick 1982: 169–71 and Manuwald 2009: 49–56. **cooperto** “buried,” as if “pelted” by a hail of stones (*OLD cooperio* 1b). The metaphor perhaps recalls the violent clubbing and stoning deaths of Ti. Gracchus and 300 of his supporters in June 133 BCE.

69 primores populi ... populumque: Wills 39 points out that the highly alliterative polyptoton is modeled after similar structures describing social units in Homer, such as “Priam and the people of Priam” (Πρίαμος καὶ λαός ... Πριάμοιο, *Il.* 4.165) and “The Trojans and the wives of the Trojans” (Τρῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλλοχοι, *Il.* 7.80). He suggests that the specific reference in this case is Hom. *Il.* 2.493 “I will recite the leaders of the ships, and all of their ships” (ἄρχους αὖ νηῶν ἐρέω νῆας τε προπιάσας) because the word order of the two passages is closely matched, and because both passages concern the division of a large group of people dealt with one group at a time. **arripuit** “pounced upon” (to convey the alliteration of *p*'s in the verse) or “tore into,” as an animal attacking its prey; see *OLD arripio* 1b, but with this citation appearing under 8b. The word also means to “arrest,” as one would an accused criminal in Rome by physically grabbing him and hauling him off to court; see Gowers *ad* 1.9.4. While the idea of “pouncing upon”/“tearing into” fits the idea of Lucilius as iambicist “wolf” (λύκος, 34 n., and cf. the “biting” metaphor at 77–8), the idea of “arresting” emphasizes the salutary moral function of his poems by equating his verbal attacks with criminal prosecution. Further on satire as a quasi-legal activity, see Gowers *ad* 1.4.3–5. **tributim** “tribe by tribe,” which is to say that he attacked vice wherever he saw it, whether in persons of old stock or new, rustic or urban, noble or ignoble. A scholiast on Pers. 1.114 claims that Lucilius “lacerated” all of the city's twenty-five tribes, but the fragments of Lucilius provide no evidence to support the claim.

70 uni aequus Virtuti “kindly/indulgent toward Virtue alone.” For *aequus* in this sense, see *OLD* s.v. 7, and N–R *ad Carm.* 3.18.3–4. On its surface, the phrase asserts that Lucilius was fair-minded, partial only to virtue, here referring to special qualities of martial valor and just behavior that were thought to be uniquely Roman (“responsible for Roman greatness,” McDonnell 2006: 2), and for which the Scipiones were especially revered; cf. Cicero expatiating on virtue as a uniquely Roman trait at *Phil.* 4.13. But since the younger Africanus had so successfully promoted

himself as Virtue's restorer and champion (see 72 n.), the same phrase can be heard to say that Lucilius was indulgent toward Scipio and his friends. In the *recusatio* of book 30, Lucilius twice refers to his powerful friend in terms of his signature manliness: *haec uirtutis tuae cartis monumenta locantur*, Lucil. fr. 1014W = 1084M, *et uirtute tua et claris conducere cartis*, fr. 1013W = 1085M. For Scipio as "Virtue" personified, see Muecke *ad loc.*, Mankin *ad Epod.* 9.25–6 and Champion 2004: 174. Lucilius' largest surviving fragment (fr. 1196–1208W (1326–38M)) celebrates *uirtus* as the "manliness" that is lived outwardly, for all to see, by an influential and politically active Roman of good character, a description that powerfully hints at Scipio himself; see McDonnell 2006: 123–7, and Raschke 1990. For H.'s words here as a specific allusion to Lucilius' *Virtus* fragment, see Courtney 2013a: 129. **eius**: the form itself reproduces the effect of an outmoded Republican style of poetry; see 6.76 n.

71 quin "in fact" corroborates and expands upon the previous statement. **secreta** implies a "hideaway," far from the public eye; cf. Virg. *G.* 4.403.

72 uirtus Scipiadae "the valor of (that was) the man begot of the Scipios." The periphrasis (amounting to "brave Scipio") is doubly redolent of epic grandeur, as it combines an "outstanding quality = the man" periphrasis, along with a patronymic. For the periphrasis in epic contexts, cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.781 "the violence of (that is) Diomedes," and Lucr. 5.28 *uis Geryonae*. For parodic uses of the device in satiric contexts, see Gowers *ad* 1.7.1. As in line 17 above (see n.), the patronymic *Scipiadas* invokes a specifically mock-Ennian grandeur that, in this case, serves to underscore the strong contrast that is being made between the heroic face that Scipio showed in public (Valor's Champion) and the playful, nugatory side of himself that he allowed Lucilius to see and, to some extent, to divulge in his poems. **mitis sapientia Laeli** "the gentle wisdom of (that was) Laelius." The public face that Laelius (see 65 n.) is credited with wearing is that of a *sapiens* who expertly combines the sagacity of a seasoned politician with the deep learning of a serious, but tolerant, student of Greek philosophical learning. For the *sapientia* of Laelius applying both to public and private activities, cf. esp. Cic. *Agr.* 2.64 and *Off.* 2.40. In his youth, Laelius was a student of Diogenes (*OCD* 3), who succeeded Zeno as head of the Stoa, and later in life he studied under Panaetius. For Stoic doctrine described as "hard" or "soft," cf. Cic. *Mur.* 60, where Cato's *doctrina* is described as *non moderata nec mitis*, and Sen. *Ep.* 11.10, where Laelius is tendered as the gentler option to Cato's rigidity. The evidence of Cic. *Fin.* 2.23–5 suggests that Lucilius had featured Laelius as an inset satirist in his account of Gallonius' dinner party (Lucil. frs. 200–212W = 1235–40, 203–5, 1134–6M). In that satire Laelius scolds the gourmandizing auctioneer for the

lavishness of his meals, and he expatiates on the moral advantages of a simple diet. Further on Gallonius as a byword for gluttony, see Damon 1997: 203, and below 2.47 n.

73 nugari “fool around.” **discincti** “un-belted” implies that the men are “relaxed,” having put off both the social and physical constraints of their formal attire. In English we would say “loosening their ties.” At Cic. *De or.* 2.22 L. Licinius Crassus tells a story passed on to him by his father-in-law, Q. Mucius Scaevola, about how Laelius and Scipio used to dash off to Scipio’s villas at Caieta and Laurentum as if they were prisoners on a jailbreak (*tamquam e vinculis euolauissent*). There they would “become boys again,” collecting shells along the coast, and they would “stoop to all manner of mental relaxation and play.” Remarking on the relaxed and playful intimacy that characterized the friendship between Scipio and Lucilius, [Acro] *ad loc.* relates a story about how Laelius once came upon Lucilius chasing Scipio around the dining room with a twisted napkin.

74 holus “vegetables” usually refers to leafy greens or cabbages. Such unpretentious, rustic fare carried strong moral associations for Romans, signifying old-fashioned simplicity, good health and hard work; see Gowers *ad* 1.1.74, Purcell 2005, and Cato *Agr.* 156.1. Here the cooked greens indicate that, as the closest of old friends, Scipio and Laelius felt no need to try to impress one another when off on their own. Away from Rome’s urban stage, they gladly dropped their urban routines, fraught as these were with nerve-racking expectations of lavish dining; cf. 7.30 where H. hypocritically praises *securum holus* after failing to score an invitation to dinner (see n.).

75 censum: as a fellow knight (*eques*), H. belonged to the same general “census class” as Lucilius (*OLD census* 2b), but he came nowhere near him in the matter of his overall property valuation or “fortune” (*OLD* s.v. 3). Within a larger discussion of the magnitude of Lucilius’ wealth, Gruen 1992: 278 points out that the particular phraseology that H. uses here (*infra Lucili censum*) would make little sense if Lucilius had not actually been a Roman citizen. **ingeniumque** “talent” refers to the poet’s inborn or “raw” abilities, as opposed to his *ars* (see above 67 n.). Several times in book 1 H. describes Lucilius as a man bursting with natural abilities that he could not control; see Gowers *ad* 1.4.43–4 and 1.10.62–3, and cf. the muddy/flooded river analogies of 1.1.56–60, 1.4.11 and 1.10.50.

76 fatebitur usque “will keep on admitting” (*OLD usque* 3).

77 Inuidia “Envy” refers to the spiteful scorn of onlookers who find it hard to believe that a man so obscure in family, finances, and inborn talent, should have come to enjoy the intimate regard, as well as the benevolence, of some of Rome’s most powerful men; cf. 3.13 below (see n.), and 1.6.45–50. **fragili** “flimsy,” perhaps playing upon H.’s cognomen,

Flaccus (“droopy/flaccid”). **illidere dentem** “drive a tooth into”; cf. the exaggerated “savagery” of Lucr. 4.1080: *dentes inlidunt ... labellis*. On envy’s proverbial “bite,” see Gowers *ad* 1.4.81 and Thomas *ad Carm.* 4.3.16. H. repeatedly denies writing satire that bites, e.g. 1.4.93 *liuidus et mordax uideor tibi*, but he threatens to bite back in defense of himself at *Epod.* 6.4; see Watson *ad loc.* Ennius likewise seems to have eschewed the role of a biter in his satires; see Muecke 2005: 38 on Ennius fr. 22W = fr.19 Courtney: *meum non est, ac si me canis memorderit*. Pers. 1.115 pictures Lucilius biting his enemies hard enough to crack a tooth (*et genuinum fregit in illis*), and many have seen this as a reference to the “canine” imagery of Lucil. fr.1000–1W = 1095–6M *inde canino ricto oculisque | inuolem*. In threatening to “fly at” his enemies with bared teeth, Lucilius is certain to have disavowed *inuidia* and/or *malitia* as his motive; see Dickie 1981. Instead he would have cast himself as a defender rather than an aggressor, e.g. by figuring himself as a version of the faithful Molossian guard dog of *Epod.* 6.5–8 who bites only those who taunt him, or those who threaten his friends. Here, in an ironic twist, H. threatens his attackers with a full Lucilian measure of pain, but that pain comes as a side-effect of their attacking him: instead of the satirist protecting powerful friends (i.e. the Lucilian scenario) the satirist’s friends protect him.

79 dissentis: the tone is prosaic and legalistic. Of the verb’s three occurrences in H., two occur in contexts where juriconsults are being addressed (here and *Ep.* 2.2.61), and the third refers to the foul contractual “conditions” or “stipulations” of the peace agreement that were rejected by Regulus; see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.5.13–14. **diffindere** “split open/apart” makes better sense, and has far better MS support, than *diffingere*, *diffidere* and *diffundere*. One of the codices consulted by Cruquius (*cod. Tons.*) read *defringere* “break off,” which makes good sense, is solidly attested in poetry, and might be taken as a play upon H.’s claim not to be *fragilis* lit. “breakable.” But the strongest option remains *diffindere*, which here has the same meaning that it does in its two other uses in H. at *S.* 1.8.47 and *Carm.* 3.16.13–14. Responding to H.’s claims of rock-hard solidity (previous n.), Treb. responds: “For the life of me, I cannot split it open at all” = “I can’t make the slightest dent in your argument.”

80–1 sed tamen ... legum “even so, be careful, keeping in mind what I’ve said, lest ignorance of our holy laws bring some trouble crashing down on you.” The syntax is difficult: *ut* is to be construed with *caueas* rather than with *monitus* (for the archaic jussive construction, lending an air of authority to Treb.’s advice, see 43 n.), and *quid* (= *aliquid*, and to be taken with *negoti*, i.e. “some trouble”) is the direct object of *incutiat*. **caueas**: by cautioning his client about the legal snares that he might expect to encounter if he persists in writing satire, Treb. performs one of

his principal duties as jurisconsult; see above 4 n., and cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.2 (addressed to Treb.) *tu, qui ceteris cauere didicisti. sanctarum* “inviolat/holy.” Spoken from the perspective of a jurisconsult (see K–H *ad loc.*), the imposing adjective conveys a hidden warning to H. about the severity of the “inviolat” (*OLD sanctus* 1) laws he risks breaking, but it also finds Treb. taking a deep and comically reverential bow before the archaic and (to his mind) “holy” (*OLD s.v.* 3) statutes that are the bedrock of Roman law, and of his own profession, i.e. the Twelve Tables (next n.).

82–3 Deeming it a credible legal threat to his client, Treb. cites the specific statute (Tabula VIII.1) from Rome’s earliest law code, the Twelve Tables, that forbade the writing or singing of a *malum carmen*. The lengthening of the final syllable of *condiderit* before the principal caesura (cf. 2.47 n.) gives a suitably archaic feel to line 82. The best reconstruction of the law is that of Crawford 1996, vol. II: 679: *qui malum carmen incantassit ... <quiue> occentassit carmen<ue> cond<issit>* “whoever should cast a magic spell ... <or whoever> should sing in enmity or compose/author a song.” The main question that scholars have struggled to answer regarding the law is whether “evil song” refers to a magical incantation (witchcraft) or more generally to defamatory verse. Rives 2002, followed by Lowrie 2005, has argued convincingly that originally the archaic statute legislated against both types of song in a world where the distinction between a magical curse and defamation was negligible, if not entirely irrelevant. According to Cic. *Rep.* 4.10.12, breaking the law in question was a capital offense (*capite sanxissent*). Although Cicero has his fictional Scipio speak approvingly of the law’s unusual severity, there is no evidence that the law was ever used to put anyone to death (see poem intro. above). In the end, Treb. seems overly cautious, if not humorously antiquarian and out of touch, in citing as a potential legal threat to H. a law as musty and under-used as that from the Twelve Tables against *malum carmen*.

83 iudiciumque “legal proceedings.” The next line implies that the trial that Treb. envisions would be conducted in front of a single judge (*iudex*); see Courtney 2013a: 130. **esto** “so be it.” H.’s use of the antiquated form finds him imitating (for Treb.’s bedazzlement) the clipped formulaary language of the Twelve Tables themselves; see Langslow 2013: 188–9. **bona:** “in asserting ... that he writes *bona carmina*, Horace means more than that they are well-written and non-libelous. They are white magic, power exerted for good,” Reckford 1969: 38; further on the mixing of legal with aesthetic potentials in H.’s punning retort, see D’Anna 1979: 545–6.

84 iudice: Octavian’s literary judgment is here invested with the force of law (i.e. is tantamount to a legal judgment as well), since his judging H.’s satires “good” will make the satirist’s legal problems disappear. It is unclear what actual legal authority Octavian wielded in 30 BCE. According

to Dio 51.19.7, among the many honors voted to Octavian after the fall of Alexandria was the right to judge cases that were appealed to him, and to cast “the vote of Athena” in all courts. Dio is commonly thought to have confused the tribunician powers taken up by Augustus in 23 BCE with the honors decreed to him as victor over Antony and Cleopatra in 30 BCE; see Millar 1973: 60–1, and Reinhold 1988: 150–1. More recently, Lange 2009: 126–8 has argued that Dio’s account makes good historical sense if the honors in question are understood as “a response to news from the east” and an invitation to Octavian to show his *clementia* to the defeated.

85 *latrauerit*: Bentley opted for *lacerauerit* (found in several codices that were once consulted by Lambinus), objecting that the barking metaphor is drawn from “lazy dogs who presumably bark but do not bite,” and that it is elsewhere applied only to “envious or lazy people who attack their betters.” Despite these objections there are several ways to defend the superior MS reading as also the far better reading in sense: (1) as an instance of ironic self-denigration on H.’s part, as if to prove to Treb. that his satire harms no one; (2) as a sudden shift in focalization that finds H. momentarily tossing in a detractor’s dismissive construal of his activities as “all bark” when compared to the hard-biting ways of Lucilius (see above 77 n.); or (3) as a way of connecting H. to the Cynics, especially to the satirist Menippus. On dog imagery applied to cynics and satirists, see Muecke 1985.

86 *soluentur risu tabulae* “the laws/accusations [sc. that bind you] will be loosened/untied by laughter.” On legal troubles as “knotty” and “binding,” see below 3.69–71 nn. There is no consensus on precisely what imagery we are to imagine here, or what “the tables” in question are. Elsewhere it is the *res* “case” or “legal matter at hand” (*OLD res* 11) that is said to “dissolve in” or “be resolved by” laughter, e.g. Cic. *De or.* 2.236, Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.67. Thus the “tables” mentioned here are generally thought to refer to the official court records or to the praetor’s tablets on which the specific charges against the accused were written (thus “tables” = “accusations” or “the case against you”; see Rudd 1966: 128, and Muecke *ad loc.*). [Acro] took the *tabulae* to refer not to the indictment, but to the law-tables themselves: *idest ridebunt legum XII tabulae*, as if to say “Rome’s stern old laws will break out in laughter.” Further on the *tabulae* as a reference to the *XII Tabulae*, see Pasoli 1964: 471 and Fedeli *ad loc.* Lowrie 2009: 346 finds a dark connotation lurking in the poem’s final ambiguity: “the dissolution of an individual case (*tabulae*) means the dissolution of the laws (*tabulae*) as a system.” **missus** “set free” (*OLD mitto* 3a) does not imply formal acquittal: no verdict is given, and the trial achieves no conclusive, legal resolution, as the case is laughed out of court.

SATIRE 2

The second poem of the book is not a dialogue *per se*, but a lecture on the moral virtues and health benefits of a simple diet. Gesturing toward Plato in line 2 with the words “this talk (*sermo*) is not mine,” H. disavows credit for the lecture, attributing what he is about to say to a certain Ofellus (hereafter Of.), a farmer he knew long ago as a boy growing up in Apulia (*hunc ego parvus Ofellum ... noui*, 112–13). Though spoken by H., the lecture belongs to someone else, like Diotima’s discourse on love, recalled from a distant past and re-performed by Socrates in Plato’s *Symposium* (see 2 n.). The poem is *sermo* in that sense, and it raises many of the same questions that are asked of Plato’s dialogues concerning the writer’s own personal investment in the words he remembers, and the extent to which he has remained faithful to the original lecture, or whether he might only be loosely remembering it, if not retrojecting his own views onto it, or actually inventing it in its entirety. Of. may have been a real farmer, or he may be a character invented by H. In either case, he functions as a Socrates figure for H. in this poem: a self-made philosopher who, *we are to imagine*, spoke plainly and wore unstylish clothes, and who, *we are to imagine*, made a huge impression on a young H., as Socrates had on Plato.

The first lines of the poem tell us that Of. had no formal training in philosophy; that his wisdom was homespun from experience to serve his own purposes. And yet, beginning with his marked use of *boni* in line 1 (see n., and Bond 1980: 112–16), Of.’s every lesson points to a deep and diverse reading (a varied and exotic diet) of Greek philosophy, literature and technical medical works; see esp. 70–93 *passim*, and for a detailed review of the many philosophical sources behind Of.’s lessons (though with little emphasis on medical sources), see Lejay’s introduction to the poem. Despite always hinting at their learned provenance, Of.’s lessons are packaged as the talk of a self-taught Italian farmer who is prone to using folksy expressions (20–1, 64, 111), clipping his words (e.g. 11, 84), inventing odd new forms (1, 6) and introducing bold and earthy new metaphors (14, 18, 24, 79, 128). As a proud and pious farmer patriot (101–5), Of. despises the ways of the big city (31–4), and he has a xenophobic streak that finds him despising Greeks for being pampered and “soft,” and for devoting themselves to unnatural, unhealthy and morally deleterious habits. As such, Of. bears a striking resemblance to Rome’s most famous curmudgeonly farmer, the Elder Cato, right down to his rustic “feasts” taken with neighbors (120), his antipathy toward fish (emphasized throughout, but see esp. 22 and 120 nn.), and his pronounced love of turnips (43), vegetable greens and pork (117). Even the name Ofellus calls up memories of the Elder Cato (2 n.). That said, Of. pushes the limits of the Cato

analogy by being, in some cases, even more extreme in his enthusiasms and prejudices than Cato himself, e.g. singing the praises of rancid pork in lines 89–93, and taking a xenophobic attitude not only toward non-Italian humans, but toward fish from the eastern Mediterranean for being migratory and “foreign” in line 22. Such extremes leave one to wonder whether Of. is a Cato figure, or a mock-Cato figure, e.g. like the comically unhinged rustic dinner host of Juvenal’s eleventh satire, a poem that owes a heavy debt to H.’s portrayal of Ofellus in this satire. For some, Of. lends himself to being taken seriously as an “exemplary figure” who is held up for emulation by H. himself (Muecke p. 114). For others, he is a *doctor ineptus* who harangues on his topic with “excessive zeal,” thus giving us to expect that he is a man with whom “the satirist parts company” (Anderson 1982: 44).

In her introduction to the poem Muecke observes that the philosophical perspective of the satire “is mainly Epicurean” (p. 115). The same might be said of H. himself: an Epicurean for the most part, but capable of some striking (at times even decidedly Stoic) departures. In Of.’s case, the most conspicuous of such non-Epicurean departures come near the end of the poem, where he accosts a wealthy hedonist for spending lavishly on himself. Of. asks the man, an unrepentant Trimalchio, why the poor should go without while he, by his own admission, possesses far more than he can ever spend (more than enough for “three kings”⁵). Of. then asks the man why he does not rather spend his money in ways that contribute to some greater public good: to help support “the fatherland,” and to rebuild “temples of the gods” that were falling into ruin. Of.’s unqualified concern for the “undeserving poor” (*cur eget indignus quisquam?* 103) is non-existent in earlier philosophy, and while some scant support can be adduced from certain philosophers (esp. Anacharsis⁶) for expenditure

⁵ In line 101 the man’s arrogant boast to possess more than enough wealth for three kings (*diuitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus*) suggests that a “richer than three kings” aphorism for describing obscene wealth might stand behind Petronius’ choice to name his hero Trimalchio. For Trimalchio as a semitic name meaning “thrice king,” see Schmeling *ad* Petron. 26.9.

⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 5.90 quotes a letter from Anacharsis to Hanno, wherein Anacharsis refuses to accept certain unspecified (but presumably quite lavish) gifts that Hanno has offered him. Anacharsis tells Hanno that he has no shoes, and that “hunger is my relish” (*pulpamentum fames*), and he urges Hanno to give his gifts to his fellow citizens or to the immortal gods. For other general remarks regarding honorable spending *pro deo et patria* in the Greek ethical tradition (none nearly as direct and unqualified as those of Of. at the end of this poem), see Muecke *ad* 101 and 104.

pro deo et patria as a moral good, no philosopher ever put the case for such expenditure as strongly, and as baldly, as Of. puts it here. The reason for this is that these are the concerns and urgent moral imperatives not of a philosopher, but of a self-reliant Catonian farmer; a Republican Roman citizen concerned for the welfare of the state, and hostile to private luxury. By insisting that the unrepentant wastrel spend his wealth not on himself, but on gods and country, Of. deviates from the teachings of Epicurus, radically so, in a decidedly “old Roman” way. But here one need only replace the idea of “spending one’s wealth” with “spending one’s poetic talents” to find H. deviating from Epicurus in precisely the same “old Roman” way.⁷

At *Tusc.* 5.89 Cicero has the mysterious speaker whom he designates M. observe “with how little was Epicurus content (*paruo est contentus*)! No one has had more to say about a simple diet (*de tenui uictu*).” Like an Epicurus in farmer’s clothes, Of. preaches at length on these same issues, using the same language (*tenui uictu* in 53, and *contentus paruo* in 110). In the poem’s first lines we are given to imagine that an audience (presumably with a youthful H. right there among them) gathers in to listen and learn (*discite*, 4, *mecum disquirite*, 7). Once settled, Of. wastes no time in vilifying them as soft young men (*Romana iuuentus*, 52) whose pursuit of *uoluptas summa* (19–20) finds them putting on airs as finicky Hellenophiles, devoting themselves to Greek gymnastic play rather than to hunting and military training (9–13), eschewing bread and salt, dining on peacocks, three-pound mullets, baby storks, and so on. In the specific manner of their scolding, Of. has them pegged as pleasure-seeking gourmands: highly cultured, but vain. As such, they are the misguided Epicurean stereotypes to Of.’s own gruff, but authentic, Epicurean type.

Perhaps because they were so easily pilloried as enthusiasts of sumptuous living, the Epicureans (beginning already with Epicurus himself, who defied later stereotypes by growing vegetables in his humble *hortus*; see 6.2 n.) “were generally agreed to have outdone their opponents”

⁷ As Barchiesi 2011: 530 points out, H.’s model of a poet who is helpful to the community is “the crucial new idea in the literary *Epistles*” and involves a critical distancing from “the new Callimachuses of elegy.” The most obvious of H.’s “expenditures” *pro deo et patria* in his works are the Roman Odes (*Carm.* 3.1–3.6) and the *Carmen Saeculare*. Similar ideas about spending one’s wealth on the public good are espoused at *Carm.* 2.10–20, where they are connected not to any teachings of Greek philosophy, but to the “rule of the ancients” (*ueterumque norma*, 12), as adhered to by Romulus and the elder Cato.

in “commending the charms” of a simple diet (quoting N-H *ad Carm.* 1.31.15 *me pascunt oliuae*). There is nothing new, in other words, about an Epicurean regaling listeners on the moral and health benefits of a simple diet. What is new, radically so, in the case of this satire, is the casting of these same Epicurean teachings as native Italian common sense: “farmer wisdom,” like lessons taught by the Elder Cato to his sons. Usually it was the Stoics, with their emphasis on hard living, manly virtue and self-control, whose teachings were embraced as expressions of old Roman values. But with few exceptions Romans responded to the teachings of Epicurus as altogether “other”: a depraved Greek import that “threatened to disrupt a requisite component of Roman public life: the vigilant maintenance of the masculine self” (Gordon 2012: 109). The very notion of an “Epicurean Cato” is odd in the extreme, but it is this idea that stands out as the satire’s central conceit: a bold thought experiment without precedent – but with an equally bold counterpart in Virgil’s Corycian *senex*, the Epicurean gardener of *G.* 4.125–46, a remarkably wise and hard-working figure remembered from the poet’s youth; see 112–14 n. and Roskam 2007: 163–4. One can interpret the mismatch of message to vehicle in this poem in many ways, e.g. as a comical absurdity to be laughed at; as an illustration idealizing the domestication of Epicurean teachings in a Roman setting (something that never happened), demonstrating how neatly the precepts of Epicurus coincide with Roman values; as an ironic satiric device for exposing the artificiality of “Roman authenticity” itself, showing how easy it is to act the part of a “real Roman” by parading one’s convictions (no matter how exotic they are) as nothing other than old-fashioned, native Italian “common sense.” And so on.

This satire is one of several poems in the book that takes an unexpected turn at the end, as ugly Roman political realities burst into the frame (cf. the intrusion of Roman politics into the idealized world of the shepherds in Virgil’s first *Eclogue*), and the remembered lecture on “diet” becomes quite personal for H. himself. In line 112 the discussion turns from matters of food to the way that Of.’s commitment to living simply has served him well in recent bad times. H. relates that, in the land confiscations that ravaged Apulia (in the late forties, the handiwork of Octavian; see 131, 6.1–3, 6.55–6 nn.) Of. lost his farm. In an especially cruel twist, he has become a laborer for hire on the same plot of land that he used to own. And yet, H. says, Of.’s life is the same as it had always been. Hard work and a plate of vegetables made him completely happy before, when he owned the farm, and neither of these were taken from him when he lost it. He is still just as happy as he ever was, the very picture of a man whose philosophy runs deep, affecting him in ways that any Roman (even a Roman Stoic) could admire: a man happy in himself, and contemptuous

of fortune's cruel whims. His commitment to eating simply ends up being not a curious small thing, but everything.

Other responses to the land confiscations of the late forties are sampled elsewhere in Roman poetry, most famously in Virgil's *Eclogues* 1 and 9, where characters react to their losses with despair and rage. In the pseudo-Virgilian *Dirae* the speaker, a displaced farmer, levels a massive curse against the very lands he used to farm in order to punish the soldier who stole them. One expects such reactions from war's innocent victims, bystanders like Of., whose farm was taken from him to cover someone else's political debts, and to shore up someone else's political gains. Given what has happened to him, Of. has every right to lash out in anger, disgust and despair, and satire is precisely the genre where one might expect a satirist, especially this satirist, to let this man have a very different, and explosive, say: H. himself (or his father) had lost his farm to the land confiscations of the late forties. He can relate to Of. as someone who has suffered exactly as he has. In many ways, Of. bears an uncanny resemblance to H.'s father (see most recently Yona 2018: 250–1), himself a frugal Apulian farmer who was proudly unschooled in Greek philosophy (1.4.115–16). And yet H. credits him for teaching him all that he ever needed to know about how to live frugally and happy with little (*parce frugaliter atque | uiuerem uti contentus*, 1.4.107–8), and for shaping him into a satirist committed to these same values (see Gowers *ad* 1.4.105–26). Of. has undergone the ultimate test of the values that he taught to the young H. in better times. No matter how “homespun” his wisdom was and would always remain, it served him well when it mattered most, and no set of learned philosophical precepts, fully mastered in Greek, could have served him any better.

As the Horatian father figure of book 2, Of. invites readers to consider how his values, as taught to H. as a child, have made their way into H.'s life, and into his *Sermones*. H. puts decidedly “Ofellan” values on display later in the book, especially in poem 6 where he openly longs to live out his life in the country, eating simple meals, and imbibing the wisdom of his rustic neighbors. Poem 7 allows us to see H. as a man who wants to practice the simplicity that he preaches, but routinely fails. Hints of these future failures and inconsistencies emerge from Of.'s sermon, where the lesson's addressee (closing down to a singular “you” from the poem's opening plurals: *boni ... disquirite*) is given a distinctive character: not the typical anonymous “you” of diatribe, but a young, luxury-loving Hellenophile who is attracted to the dazzling ways of the city (see 11 n.). Whereas in book 1 the satirist draws a clear line connecting his father's teachings to the ways of his own life, and the moral work of his satires, in this poem H. draws no lines to connect Of.'s teachings to himself, other than to say

that he once heard these lessons as a boy, and that they were a mainstay of Of.'s continuing happiness in hard times. Thus the question remains open: what effect did these lessons have on H., and how do Of.'s ideas about *tenuis uictus* express themselves in (and as) his satires? It is up to the reader to find some relevance to connect the teachings of the poem's old rustic to the workings of Horatian satire, e.g. as an explanation for H.'s silence about the loss of his farm (something we might expect him to talk about): his having no anger to vent, no despair to wallow in.

The values that the elder Horace impressed upon his son in book 1 are moral and aesthetic at the same time: *iam satis est* and *contentus paruo* apply equally well to the way the poet lives, and to the way he writes, marking the point where Callimachean aesthetic principles and Epicurean moral values converge. The one is an expression of the other. In the *Odes* one finds similar parallels between H.'s *mensa tenuis* and the *genus tenue* of his style; see Mette 1961, Gowers 1993: 220–1 and Mader 2014: 421 “ethics and aesthetics, style and self entail each other.” So, too, here: many of the values preached by Of. lend themselves to being read for “what else” they might be taken to imply, as well as for what they explicitly say, because they have clear counterparts as poetic principles espoused by H. in book 1 and elsewhere throughout his works (e.g. *tenui uictu* in 53), and because some of Of.'s rustic sayings sound so uncannily like famous programmatic statements of Callimachus, e.g. *uulgaria temnit* in 38, and the “big fish big disgrace” aphorism of 95–6 (see nn., and see also 102–5 n. on possible poetic dimensions of Of.'s advice on “measuring out” one's wealth for the fatherland). In the case of *tenuatum corpus* in 84, Of.'s terminology straddles the territories of moral and aesthetic values and medical advice all at the same time. This is not to say that this old farmer's lessons are always really about something else. Rather it is to observe how, within the fiction of this poem, one man's simple philosophy provides him (and perhaps H. himself) with whatever he needs to get by. It is a complete and highly “intricated” philosophy that brings everything together, with ramifications for the soul, the body and the written word. And yet it remains easy to laugh at for being so cantankerous and old-fashioned, and clothed in such unstylish dress.

1 Quae ... paruo “what, and how great, a virtue it is, my friends, to live on little.” As in Plato's *Symposium*, a topic is proposed in two aspects, part philosophical inquiry (Plato *Symp.* 194e), part encomium (177d); cf. below 70 n. **boni**: the plural vocative of *bonus* occurs only here, modeled on Gk ὦ ἄγαθοί; see Kissel *ad Pers.* 3.94 *heus bone*. The singular ὦ ἄγαθέ is relatively common, especially in the dialogues of Plato. In Latin as in Greek, such an apostrophe often carries a slightly censorious and/or condescending

tone (“a term of gentle remonstrance,” LSJ ἀγαθός I.5); see Dickey 1996: 117–18, cf. Damasippus’ *o bone* at 3.31.

2 nec meus hic sermo est: in imitation of Plato *Symp.* 177a, quoting Euripides’ *Melanippe the Wise*, where Melanippe cites her mother as her authority for her account of creation: “the story isn’t mine, but it was taught to me by my mother” (Euripides fr. 484 N); cf. Plato *Symp.* 201d, where Socrates credits his discourse on love to lessons taught to him by Diotima in his youth. **Ofellus** “Mr. Morsel” (playing upon *ofella* “pork cutlet,” see 117 n. below). Elsewhere the name occurs in a single inscription from Capua (see Lejay *ad loc.*). The name’s association with pork helps establish Ofellus as a Cato figure (Marcus *Porcius* Cato); see below 117 and 6.64–76 nn. On pork idealized as “morally” wholesome rustic fare that “draws the Italian to his true self,” see Leigh 2015: 46–7. For possible further connections between the name Ofellus and Greek ὠφέλεια, see 102–5 n.

3 abnormi “irregular/unschooled.” The adjective is notoriously problematic, occurring only here in extant Latin. Confusion over its meaning is apparent from the MSS which are divided among several variants, principally between *abnormis* and *abnormi*. The latter has the best MS support. It is preferred also on grammatical grounds, since it obviates assigning an attributive adjective to the substantive *sapiens*. For a close parallel, cf. *enormis* “shapeless,” which is used primarily of clothing (*OLD enormis* 1a) and of literary style (*OLD* 1b). Cic. *Amic.* 18 suggests the further sense of “unschooled.” In any case, it is clear that Horace has either chosen or invented the word to imitate, at a literary level, the reality it describes: the unique, self-defining word describes an unconnected, self-made philosopher. **crassaque Minerua** “of coarse weave/intelligence.” The phrase implies a lack of subtlety and stylistic polish. Minerua is a metonym for Of.’s intellect (*OLD Minerua* 1c, 3) and his dress (*OLD* 1b, 2). For *crassa* “coarse” describing cloth, see *OLD crassus* 7, and cf. Lada-Richards 2006: 56 on the “thin Minerva” (*tenuique Minerua*) of Virg. *Aen.* 8.409. For rugged and/or unstylish dress symbolizing unsophisticated (“homespun”) wisdom, see *S.* 1.3.30–2 (with Gowers *ad loc.*) and *Ep.* 1.1.94–6, and cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.56. Cic. *Amic.* 19 suggests that the normal turn of this phrase was *pinguis Minerua*: “therefore let us forge ahead with our ‘fat Minerva’, as they say.” The shift from *pinguis* to *crassa* underscores the metonym’s reference to cloth.

4 non inter lances: both Greeks and Romans used the formal dinner party as the setting for philosophical debate; cf. H.’s idealized country symposium at 6.65–76 below. Here, however, the speaker is quick to reject the normal sympotic setting. His lessons are taught at an earlier, “hungrier” hour. Ironically, Of.’s words rejecting the symposium themselves

recall Plato *Symp.* 176a–e, where the standard drinking bout is dismissed in favor of sober discussion.

5 cum stupet in uanis acies fulgoribus “when your vision is dazzled by empty/illusory glare.” Peerlkamp’s proposal *in uanis*, adopted by SB, suits the point that Of. is making far better than *insanis*. For *stupet* + *in* meaning “be dazzled by,” cf. 1.6.17 *qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus*. The gleam emanating from polished surfaces and luxury items (plates, tables, coffered ceilings) was a commonplace of ancient banquet descriptions; cf. Telemachus’ stunned reaction to the luxuries of Menelaus’ dining hall at Hom. *Od.* 4.71–5: “the gleam of the bronze (χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆν) ... and of the gold, the amber, the silver and the ivory”! Moralists turned the dazzling gleam of these descriptions into an overpowering glare that “blinds” the mind to what is right; see Bramble 1974: 47, Fowler and Fowler 2002 *ad* Lucr. 2.2, and cf. Sen. *Thy.* 414–15.

6 acclinis “inclining toward.” The figurative usage is unique to this passage; see *OLD acclinis* 3. Perhaps we are to imagine a diner leaning over the side of his couch, toward “deceptive” delicacies (“false goods”) that are laid out before him on the table; cf. the visual image of a sea-sick passenger at Petr. 103.5 and the quasi-visual “sighting” of political inclinations at Liv. 4.48.8. The word possibly refers to the Stoic notion of εὐεμπτωσία (*proclivitas*), a certain “prone-ness” of the irrational soul toward wrongful acts; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.28 *proclives ad eas perturbaciones*, on which Bond 1980: 123.

7 impransi: lit. “unlunched.” The word is drawn from the world of Plautine comedy, where it is used six times (and nowhere else prior to H.). The word was perhaps invented by Plautus in imitation of Gk ἀναρίστητος, equally comic in tone; cf. Ar. fr. 470K-A. **mecum disquirite** “inquisite with me.” The verb *disquiro*, which occurs nowhere else in classical Latin, is certain to have been heard as curious, most likely as a variation on a more commonplace word, such as *inquiro*. The prevalence of such unusual expressions in this satire suggests that the rustic speaker is linguistically freewheeling and/or not quite on top of the technical vocabulary he is attempting to use; cf. *acclinis* used in a unique construal (as if to approximate *proclivis*) in the prev. line. **cur hoc** “why so?”, i.e. why investigate the matter while hungry?

9 corruptus “corrupted,” i.e. seduced by bribery; cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1109b8–9 “but in every case (when making an ethical choice) one must guard against pleasure, for we judge pleasure as judges who have been bribed.” Further on the Aristotelian background of Of.’s *corruptus iudex* image, see Coulter 1967.

10 lassus ab “exhausted after/because of” (*OLD ab* 13, and *lassus* 1a).

10–11 uel, si Romana fatigat | militia “or if these ‘Roman military drills’ wear you out,” referring to the activities just mentioned. The adjective *Romana* is emphatic, and forms a contrast with *graecari* in the next line. The noun *militia* (postponed via enjambment) comes as a surprise: despite obvious connections between hunting/riding and Roman military training, there is no precedent for treating these activities as baldly synonymous. The cleverly crafted phrase finds Of. momentarily adopting the point of view of his fictive interlocutor in order to mock his disdain for traditional Roman sports. The overall sense is: “if all this good old Roman sport (‘boot camp’, as far as you’re concerned) is too hard for you, then pursue the softer Greek activities (that you’re so fond of).”

11 assuetum graecari “accustomed to playing/going Greek.” The word is sneering and inventive, occurring only here in its uncompounded form; cf. *pergraecari* of Plaut. *Mos.* 22, 64, *et passim* and *congraecare* of *Bac.* 743. The fictional “you” of this satire is not the disembodied “you” of diatribe, but an indolent young man, unfamiliar with hard work, and perversely enamored of all things Greek. **pila** “ball” probably refers to “three-corner ball” (*pila trigonalis*), a Greek sport (cf. *discus* in line 13) played in gymnasium, palaestrae and in larger bath complexes; see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 27.2 *pila prasina* and 27.3 *numerabat pilas*. As a game that Maecenas enjoyed playing, see below 6.49 n. The toils prescribed for “earning an appetite” (below 20–1 n.) normally included hunting, running and the like; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.98. Here the “softer” sports of the Greek gymnasium are substituted as a concession to the fictional hearer’s philhellenism.

12 molliter ... laborem “when enthusiasm softly beguiles hard toil.” Such luxuriance of expression is uncharacteristic of the country preacher: the striking juxtaposition of “soft” and “hard,” together with the mannered word order (abBA) and strange clustering of Greek vocabulary (*austerum*, *discus*, *aera*) all suggest that Of. is borrowing (mocking) someone else’s high-flown language. The supple *molliter*, a favorite of elegists (esp. Propertius), occurs only here in the Horatian corpus. For a later example of the type of poetry that Of. seems to be calling to mind and mocking, cf. Prop. 3.14.5.

13 seu ... disco “or if it’s the discus that gets you moving, strike the yielding atmosphere with a discus.” More teasing language (see prev. n.); cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.8.7 *cedente uolatibus aura*. **aera**: a Greek accusative. For discus as a Greek sport, see Cic. *De or.* 2.21. On the spread of Greek athletics in Rome, deplored by moralists as a sign of cultural decay, see Mann 2014.

14 cum labor extuderit fastidia “once hard work has hammered the finickiness out of you.” The metaphor is both inventive and confounding: normally *extundere* has the opposite sense of “hammer into shape,” or “fashion.” Only here does it (apparently) mean “dispel”; see Bentley

ad loc., OLD *extundo* 2; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 119.15. Further on *fastidium*, see Kaster 2005: 104–33 (treating *fastidia* in this line on p. 113) and 6.86 n. **siccus, inanis** “when you are parched and empty.”

15–16 nisi ... ne biberis “do not drink unless,” i.e. “drink only” or “nothing but.” **Hymettia ... diluta** “honeys of Hymettus thinned with Falernian wine.” The showy periphrasis describes *mulsum*, a mixture of honey and wine served with the appetizer course (*gustatio*). Here both the wine and honey are of an exceptional quality; see 4.24 n. below.

16 promus: the slave in charge of the storeroom.

17 defendens pisces: the sea is personified, adding to the (teasing) loftiness of the line; cf. the moral hyperbole of *Carm.* 3.1.33–4. **hiemat mare**: the personal construction (*hiemare* originally impersonal “it storms”) is modeled on Greek usage, e.g. *AP* 7.652 χειμήνασα θάλαττα; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 114.19, where Sallust’s *aquis hiemantibus* “amid storming waters” is disparaged as modish and affected.

18 latrantem stomachum “barking stomach.” The earthy metaphor hints at the speaker’s earthy and unpretentious character.

18–20 unde ... partum “where do you suppose it [sc. a powerful hunger that delights in bread and salt] comes from, and how is it obtained”? *unde* is answered by *in te* (line 20), *qui* by *sudando* (line 21). There is an unstated connection here between the sweat of hard work (i.e. the loss of salt) and a craving for salt. **caro** “expensive.” **uoluptas summa** “highest pleasure.” The language is Epicurean; cf. K–H 193–4, Diog. Laert. 10.131 “Barley-bread and water return the highest pleasure (τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἡδονήν) when offered to one deprived of them.” For pleasure (ἡδονή/*uoluptas*) as the chief good in Epicurean thought, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.95, Diog. Laert. 10.129 “we say that pleasure is the beginning and end of a blessed life.”

20–1 pulmentaria quaere | sudando “earn your appetizers by sweating.” For the “drumroll effect” produced by the word order, putting special emphasis on *sudando*, see 4.25 n. **pulmentaria** = Greek τὰ ὄψα “delicacies” (LSJ ὄψον 2; cf. 7.106 n.). Versions of the saying are attributed to Socrates, Bion, Anacharsis, and others; see Lejay 313–14. Here the point underscored by the aphorism is not that delicacies have to be earned by hard work, but that hard work renders even the simplest foods (such as bread and salt) into delicacies. **album** “pale,” i.e. from over-indulgence; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.99–100. Further on pallor as sign of vicious living, see 3.78 n., Bramble 1974: 150, n. 3. **ostrea**: scan as two syllables (synizesis).

22 scarus “parrot-wrasse” is a fish of the eastern Mediterranean, rare and costly in Italy; see Watson *ad Epod.* 2.50–2. **peregrina**: the Greek names (ὄστρεϊον, σκάρος, λαγωίς) are spoken in disgust, and underscore the exotic character of the fish. Their designation as “alien/foreign” finds Of. treating the fish as if they themselves were aliens invading Rome and

displacing traditional mores. **lagois**: (from Greek λαγώς “hare”) is otherwise unknown. The scholiasts assume that the word refers to an obscure, hare-like species of fish or bird. The majority of modern commentators have sought to identify it with the *lagopus* “ptarmigan,” a bird from the Alps (thus “exotic”) with notably hare-like feet, but the scholiasts’ confusion over the matter suggests that no such identification was ever neatly at hand for an ancient audience. It is quite possible that Of., whose language is rich in neologisms and odd usages, invented the word to mimic the culinary and/or linguistic pretensions of his fictional hearer. Taken as an invention, *lagois* means “she-hare,” formed on analogy with other Greek ω -stem nouns with feminine forms in -is, e.g. ἥρως/ἥρως, δμῶς/δμῶς. The gourmands of satire were convinced that an animal’s sex affected its taste; cf. 4.44 n., Muecke *ad* 8.87–8. The ludicrous “hare-ess” (whether a fish or a bird) can be understood to mock this pretension.

23 eripiam “rescue from,” here treated as a verb of hindering, with *quin* + subj. **posito** “served,” *OLD pono* 5.

24 hoc: ablative of means, refers to *pauone*. **tergere palatum** “caress your palate” (trans. Rudd).

25 corruptus uanis rerum “seduced by the empty qualities of things.” *uanis* is neuter plural with *rerum* (partitive genitive); cf. *Ep.* 1.17.21 *uilia rerum*, *Ars* 49 *abditā rerum*. The peacock’s “empty” qualities are described in terms of its costliness, scarcity and flashy color. On Epicurus’ frequent use of the adjective κενός (“empty”) to describe stress-laden fears and desires that are based on nothing, see Warren 2001: 481, n. 26.

25–6 quia ... auis “because (as you say) a scarce bird sells for gold.” The verbs in the *quia* clause are subjunctive because they express not the speaker’s point of view, but that of the *corruptus*. **auro** is ablative of price.

27 quidquam “at all,” adverbial (internal) accusative.

28 cocto: sc. *pauoni*. **nūm adest** is unelided, an instance of so-called “prosodic hiatus,” i.e. rather than elided, a final “middle” or long open syllable is shortened before a following vowel. The device, known primarily from Roman comedy, is characteristic of a rugged, conversational verse-style; see Soubiran 1966: 374. H.’s one other use of the device in his satires is a case of comic imitation; see Gowers *ad* 1.9.38 *si me amas*. Lucretius and Lucilius use the device with relative frequency; see Kenney *ad* *Lucr.* 3.1082. Otherwise, it is exceedingly rare in Latin hexameters. Further on the device, see Hollis 2007: 245 on line 2 (*tum erunt*) of the Gallus fragment. **honor** “splendor,” sc. *plumarum*.

29–30 carne ... esto “and yet, though there’s no difference between them in their meat, to think that you go for this one [the peacock] rather than that one [the chicken], taken in by their unequal appearances! So

be it, then.” For *carne* as ablative of respect, see 8.44 n., *OLD disto* 3b. The lines are rife with textual problems. **hanc magis illa**: the reading of Muecke and SB (supported by the annotation of Porph. *ad loc.*) seems preferable to *hac magis illam* (the reading of Klingner and Fedeli, based on good MS support) because the more distant item referred to is the *gallina* of line 24. **te petere** is an exclamatory infinitive, expressing irritation and astonishment; see Watson *ad Epod.* 8.1 *rogare ... te*.

31–2 unde datum sentis = *unde tibi datum est ut sentias*. “on what basis [lit. ‘given from where’] are you able to tell whether”; cf. Pers. 5.124 *unde datum hoc sumis*. The logic connecting this statement to what precedes is roughly: “let’s provisionally grant (*esto*) that differences in appearance actually matter, as you claim. Then on what basis do you distinguish (as you do) between two fish of the same species that look exactly alike”? **Tiberinus an alto | captus**: the *lupus* “sea bass” frequents inland waterways and the mouths of rivers. Gourmands of the late Republic distinguished between sea bass caught “between the bridges,” i.e. in the heart of Rome, and those taken at sea; cf. Lucil. fr. 603W = 1176M, Col. 8.16.4.

33–4 ostia sub Tusci “up toward [as far as, *OLD sub* 22b] the Tuscan river’s mouth,” referring to the Tiber. Here the preposition follows its noun, like *inter* in the previous line (the clustering of the device in back-to-back lines is unusual). The point here is not that the gourmand can sense whether the bass was caught at sea or in the river – that was established in the previous line; rather, that he can sense the precise spot in the river where it was taken. **trilibrem** “three-pound,” an invented word, apparently modeled on *bilibris* (distinctly comic, below 61 n.). Plin. *Nat.* 9.64 says that mullets rarely exceeded two pounds. **in singula ... pulmenta** “into individual servings.” At three pounds, the mullet is too large to be served whole as an individual serving.

35 species “outward splendor.”

36 proceros “long,” as the *murena* of 8.43 *in patina porrecta*. **quia scilicet** “well obviously because ...” is ironic, *OLD scilicet* 4. **illis**: the sea bass.

37 his: mullets. **breue pondus** “small weight”; *OLD brevis* 3a.

38 ieunus raro stomachus ... temnit: the placement of the adverb *raro* allows for two different construals: “a stomach that’s rarely starved despises common fare” or “a starving stomach rarely despises common food.” The latter construal is more common, and makes better sense in this context; cf. the same lesson taught by H. at 1.2.115–16. On *rarus* and *vulgaris* as naturally opposed, cf. Cic. *Top.* 69. Hunter 2006: 112 points out that the verb σιγχάινω in Callimachus’ famous programmatic statement “I despise everything that’s common” is a metaphor from finicky eating, and that at 1.2.115 *esuriens fastidis omnia* “Horace has picked up the link between the

Greek verb and food." Here *uulgaria temnit* is an equally close match for Callimachus' σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια (Callim. *Ep.* 28 Pfeiffer).

39 porrectum magno magnum: mock epic, recalling Hom. *Il.* 18.26 "he (Achilles) lay huge in the dust, stretched out over a huge space"; see Traina 1989. The repetition of "big" in different cases (polyptoton) is a characteristic ploy of epic writers in describing a fallen hero; cf. Hom. *Od.* 24.40, Virg. *Aen.* 5.447, 10.842. Further on the device, see Wills 227-8. The implication is that the "mighty fish" resembles a magnificent warrior fallen to his death.

40 uellem "I would have liked." For the counterfactual use of the imperfect subjunctive, see *OLS* 494; cf. 8.77 n. and Gowers *ad* 1.1.55-6. **Harpyiis:** trisyllable. In Apollonius, the Harpies punish Phineus by denying him his food, plundering most of it, spoiling the rest with the stench of decay. Themselves miserable and ravenous, they torment their victims with the same "harpy-like" hunger; cf. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.305-6 "Phineus dined with them ravenously (ἀρπυγίως)," Virg. *Aen.* 3.256 *dira fames* (= the harpies' curse). **digna** implies both "worthy of" the Harpies (i.e. equally ravenous, *OLD dignus* 1), and "deserving" them (i.e. meriting their punishment, *OLD dignus* 2). **rapacibus** is both "rapacious" (*OLD rapax* 2) and "apt to snatch away" (*OLD rapax* 1b). The spoiling of the glutton's delicacies in lines 41-2 is a version of the Harpies' punishment of Phineus.

41 praesentes "present in power" (cf. 6.52 n.), but also "at hand," i.e. in contrast to the mythic Harpies; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.15 drawing a similar contrast: *praesenti* ("while still among us," i.e. unlike Hercules and Romulus mentioned in lines 1-12) *tibi maturos largimur honores*. **Austri:** warm and humid winds from the south, considered pestilential in late summer and autumn; cf. 6.18n. Here they are called on to "spoil" (lit. "cook") the glutton's delicacies. **obsonia:** the Greek word is spoken with disdain.

42 rhombus "turbot," a flatfish of impressive size. In H. the *rhombus* is invariably a symbol of luxury and disdain for common fare; cf. 1.2.116 (quoted above 38 n.), and see Watson *ad Epod.* 2.49-50. Of. has a particular problem with this fish, mentioning it four times (of only seven in all of H.). For the word's literary connotations, see below 95-6 n. **mala** "unpleasant," i.e. to the smell (*OLD malus* 2). The idea is that even the freshest delicacies will "reek" and "turn the stomach" if one is queasy from over-indulgence; cf. Juv. 11.120-2.

43 plenus "having taken his fill." **rapula** "baby turnips," considered stimulants, see 8.8 n. The diminutive form (elsewhere only at 8.8) sharpens the contrast between these vegetable tidbits ("mere nothings") and the large, expensive *aper rhombusque*.

44 inulas "elecampane" (ἐλέγιον, *inula helenium*). Its bitter roots were cooked with sweet juices, raisins, honey, etc. to render them edible. Plin.

Nat. 19.92 asserts that, cooked with sweet things, the roots were very good for the stomach and stimulated a flagging appetite. The roots were pickled (apparently as food; *Col.* 12.48 gives three separate recipes), and they were pounded into a pulp (or dried and ground as flour) that was used in poultices and medicines; see, e.g., *Cels.* 4.29, *Larg.* 128.67. The use of elecampane as a sauce ingredient at 8.51 (see n.) is otherwise unexampled.

45–6 regum “kings,” i.e. “the wealthy elite” (*OLD rex* 8). **ouis** | **nigrisque ... oleis**: eggs and olives, though simple country foods, were served as appetizers at even the most elaborate feasts. **haud ita pridem** “not so long ago.”

47 Galloni praeconis “the auctioneer Gallonius,” a contemporary of Lucilius, was famous for his trend-setting gluttony. His profession, though disreputable, brought him a considerable fortune, which he subsequently wasted; cf. *Cic. Quinct.* 94 *quaestum et sumptum Galloni*. *Lucil. fr.* 203–5W = 1238–40M (citing Laelius) suggests that he “devoured/spent” all he had on a shellfish and an enormous *acipenser* (sturgeon). **erat**: the final syllable is lengthened before the principal caesura; cf. 1.82 *condiderit*, 3.260 *agit*.

48 infamis: both “notorious” and “disgraced.”

49 ciconia “stork.” The bird’s “piety” (i.e. selfless devotion to its young, caring for elderly parents) was legendary; see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 55.5–6, *Plin. Nat.* 10.63. *Plin. Nat.* 10.60 suggests that enthusiasm for stork as a gourmet item reached a peak under Augustus. By his own day, he says, no one would dream of eating stork. **nido**: nestlings were preferred.

50 auctor ... praetorius “an innovator of Praetorian rank.” His identity is unknown. To solve the puzzle *Porph.* cites an anonymous epigram taunting a certain Rufus (perhaps C. Sempronius Rufus; *RE Sempronius* #79) for failing miserably in his bid for public office (probably the consulship, *Rudd* 1966: 167, n.15). The last scazon of the poem suggests that his failure had something to do with killing storks: *ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem*. This suggestion, if correct, helps explain the curious emphasis put upon the innovator’s rank in this verse: read cynically, *praetorius* = “never a *consularis*, though Lord knows he tried.” In addition, the designation sets up a contrast with Gallonius, the auctioneer of line 47. The contrast of *praeco/praetor* within the larger *tunc/nunc* antithesis gives the following sense: “in the old days men of low birth were innovators of luxury (and were ridiculed for it!), but today Rome’s chief magistrates lead the way in disgrace (and find willing disciples in our ‘noble’ youth).”

51 mergos “gulls.” The term is used loosely of many large sea birds; see *Arnott* 1964. Here it seems to refer to the herring gull, which Romans regarded with disgust as an item of human food because it eats any rotting item that washes up on shore; see *Watson ad Epod.* 10.22. **edixerit** “shall have decreed.” The verb picks up on *praetorius* from the previous line,

referring to the edict issued at the commencement of the praetor's term, outlining the legal provisions to be observed during his tenure as the city's chief legal authority; see Berger 1953 s.v. *edictum* and *edictum praetoris*, and *OLD edictum* b.

52 prauī docilis “eager to learn something perverse”; *prauī* is objective genitive. For the construction, see Thomas *ad Carm.* 4.6.43. **Romana iuuentus**: a sarcastic reprise of one of Ennius' favorite phrases; cf. *Ann.* 499, 550, 563 Sk., where in each case the phrase appears (as it does here) at the line end.

53 sordidus “squalid” in the sense of “miserly” (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. 1.1.65. **tenui** “simple.”

53–4 Ofello | iudice “in the judgment of Ofellus.” The phrase sets up a comparison between Ofellus and the just-mentioned *praetorius*, judge in a technical, legal sense (*OLD iudex* 1c). **uitium uitaveris**: Reckford 1997: 600 points out that the short/long paronomasia is typical of Lucretian wordplay.

55 prauum marks the result of the action expressed by the verb (prolepsis), i.e. “if you twist yourself away *so that you are bent* in another direction.” Coulter 1967 suggests a connection between this line and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1109b5–7, where Aristotle argues that those who are prone toward one vice should bend themselves toward the opposite to achieve a “straight” disposition. **Auidienus**: perhaps a pun on *auidus*; see Palmer *ad loc.*, Rudd 1966: 143.

56 “Canis”: not necessarily a reference to the Cynics. The name has to do with the dog's presumed filthiness and its appetite for scraps and dung; cf. *Ep.* 1.2.26 *canis immundus*, and Mart. 1.83.2 *non miror, merdas si libet esse cani*.

57 ēst: from *edo*. **siluestria corna** “wild cornel-berries,” a staple in the diet of Ovid's primitives (*Met.* 1.105) and of the wretched Achaemenides (*uictum infelicem*, Virg. *Aen.* 3.649) after his abandonment on the island of the Cyclopes.

58 nisi mutatum “unless it has turned” sc. to vinegar.

59 cuius odorem olei: the antecedent is attracted into the case of the relative = *oleum cuius odorem*. **nequeas**: subj. in a relative clause of characteristic. **licebit** “though one will grant that” (lit. “it shall be conceded”), here a virtual conjunction; see *OLD licet* 4.

60 repotia “re-celebrations.” The term refers to a party or series of parties hosted by the bridegroom's family in the days following a wedding. Such parties were thought to compensate the bride's family for the wedding feast as a reciprocal gesture of hospitality; cf. [Acro] *ad v.* 60 *repotia sunt ... mutuae inuitationes ... dies ... quando mutuis conuiuīis se frequenter inuitant*. A *lex Julia* of Augustan date (Gel. 2.24.14) set a limit of one

thousand sesterces on expenses for weddings and *reposita*. **natales** (sc. *dies*) “birthdays,” a further occasion for feasting. Normally the person giving the party spared no expense; cf. Plaut. *Ps.* 167 and Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.1–6. Here Avidienus serves only a rancid cabbage salad (and no wine) on a festival day; cf. Pers. 6.19–21 (imitating this passage), and the comic miser Euclio at Plaut. *Aul.* 380–1. **aliosue dierum**: cf. 25 *uanis rerum* (n.).

61 albatus “in festive white.” The freshly whitened toga symbolized purity before the gods in sacrificial/celebratory contexts. The host’s glimmering appearance is set against the “filthiness” (*sordibus*, 65) of his diet. **cornu ipse bilibri** “the man himself, from a two-liter horn.” At this point one expects the “horn” to be a drinking vessel (*OLD cornu* 3a) from which Avidienus will quaff off large quantities of wine (*licebit* in 59 suggests that he is unusually lavish on festival days). Before H., *bilibris* occurs only at Plaut. *Mil.* 853, where it describes a capacious jar (*olla*) used in a drinking bout; cf. *Allifanis* 8.39 n.

62 caulibus instillat “drizzles cabbage-stalks (with oil) drop by drop.” **ueteris non parcus aceti** “downright lavish with his vintage/aged ... vinegar.” The phrase anticipates one resolution, then delivers another (*paraproisdokian*): the expected noun is *uini*. For the double negative, see 8.48 n.

64 hac ... canis “the wolf attacks on this side, the dog on that” is equivalent to English “between a rock and a hard place.” **aiunt**: the verb is common in proverbial expressions; see *OLD aio* 4b. Plautus uses the same image at *Cas.* 971. H. plays on it at *Ep.* 2.2.75. The expression has special applicability here since “dog” is Avidienus’ cognomen (*Canis*, 56) and “wolf” is the name of the gourmand’s prized fish (*lupus*, 31). In the traditional “moral” polarity of dogs and wolves in Roman thought dogs were associated with avarice and filth, and wolves with luxury and extravagance (the same moral extremes under discussion here). Houghton 2004 points out that the words *lupus* and *canis* in this line also bring to mind actual persons whose notorious habits of avarice and luxury had earned them the nicknames *Canis* and *Lupus*: the miserly Avidienus is remembered by *canis*, and *lupus* brings to mind the “wolf” of S. 2.1.68 (see n.).

65–6 mundus erit: sc. *sapiens*. **qua non offendat sordibus** “to the extent that he does not give offence by being squalid/stingy.” The wise man’s attention to *munditia* “neatness” extends only to his avoiding *sordes* (*OLD s.v.* 4). The same minimalist view is argued at Cic. *Off.* 1.130. **atque ... miser** “and in his style of living (he will be) contemptible in neither direction”; that is, neither filthy nor over-refined. **cultus** “style of living” (*OLD s.v.* 8) is genitive of reference with *miser*.

67 Albuci “Mr. White” perhaps refers to T. Albucius, orator and statesman of the late second century. Cicero describes him as a “complete

Epicurean” with a passion for Greek ways; cf. *Brut.* 131, *Fin.* 1.8. **senis:** puts Albucius in the role of an irascible comic *senex* who bullies his slaves; cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 39–66, *Ps.* 133–70. See also Courtney *ad Juv.* 14.59–63.

68 simplex Naevius “easy-going Naevius.” Perhaps the spendthrift of 1.1.101. Porph. rejects the clear sense of that passage in order to identify him with a miser in Lucilius. Here the suggestion is only that Naevius (lit. “Mr. Blackspot” as opposed to “Mr. White”) is a slovenly host, not a miser. **unctam** “greasy,” since the slaves in charge of the cups sample the food; cf. 4.78–9 n.

70–93 The discussion shifts from the first topic mentioned in line 1 (*quae virtus*) to the second (*quanta*), concerning the benefits of a simple diet. The argument that follows is steeped in the maxims of Epicurus (see K–H *ad loc.*), with further traces of Cynic and Stoic diatribe, Pythagorean/Platonic psychology and technical medical lore.

70 accipe nunc “now (having said all that) consider.” For *accipe* with an indirect question, cf. 3.46. Such formulae with *nunc* function as paragraph-markers, setting off major transitions in thought; see Kenney *ad Lucr.* 3.417 *nunc age*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.65 *accipe nunc Danaum insidias*.

71 ualeas bene: sc. *si paruo uiues*; cf. Epicurus (D.L. 10.131) “accustoming oneself to a simple and inexpensive diet promotes full health,” and pseudo-Crates (Malherbe *Cyn. Ep.* 13.4) “his [sc. Diogenes’] mode of life is simple, but healthier than that of a Persian.” **uariarum res** “an assortment of things.” Moralists routinely warned against a varied diet, claiming that it promoted self-indulgence (Macr. 7.4.32) and ingratitude (Epicurus, *Sent. Vat.* 69). Physicians thought it unhealthy. For a complete review of ancient thought on the matter, see the first problem discussed in the fourth book of Plutarch’s *Table Talks* (Plut. *Mor.* 660d–64a) “whether a variety of foods is more easily digested than foods that are simple.”

72 memor = *si memor sis*.

73 simplex “being simple,” i.e. since it was not a mixture of foods of many kinds. The contrast is with *uariarum res* in 71 (see n.). The nominative adjective states the conditions under which the verbal activity (*sederit* “would stay settled”; *OLD* s.v. 6d) takes place. Further on foods as “simple” or “complex,” see 4.64 n.

73–4 assis ... elixa: in medical writers, “roasted” (*assa/ῥητά*) and “boiled” (*elixa/ἑφθά*) were opposed as “dry” and “wet”; cf. Hippocr. *Salubr.* 1 prescribing a “dry” diet of roasted meats in winter, a “wet” diet of boiled in summer, and Cels. 1.3.24 *carne assa cibisque omnibus quam siccissimis*.

74 conchylium turdis “shell-fish with thrushes” suggests oppositions of wet and dry (Muecke *ad loc.*), sea and sky. It was commonly believed that foods absorbed the qualities of their environment; cf. Cels. 1.3.28–9. Further on thrushes as a delicacy prized by gourmands, see 5.10 n., and

cf. the earth/sea/sky disposition of the foods served at Nasidienus' feast (discussed in the intro. to poem 8 below).

76 lenta "sticky"; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 20.65 on lettuce as a cure for *lentitia pituitae*. A mixed diet was thought to produce a turbulent combination of "humors." Cels. 4.12.5–6 prescribes vomiting for the phlegmatic stomach, an enema for the bilious. **pituita**: scan as three syllables, as at *Ep.* 1.1.108. To make art of a (metrical) necessity, the word describing a glutinous substance has been rendered metrically sluggish. **pallidus**: the sign of a weak stomach or bowels; cf. Cels. 2.7.3, 1.8.2, etc.

77 cena desurgat = *surgat de cena* "rise from a meal," but with further "digestive" possibilities: elsewhere *desurgere* occurs only in medical contexts as a literal rendering of Gk ἐξανίσταμαι "rise to clear one's bowels"; cf. LSJ ἐξανίστημι II.5. Given the peculiar applicability of this sense to the current context (a semi-technical discussion of digestive processes), it is likely that both senses were heard. **dubia** "dangerous/sumptuous." The second sense stems from and recalls the riddle of Ter. *Ph.* 342–3 *cena dubia adponitur*. – *quid istuc uerbis?* – *ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum*. **quin** "yes, and in fact."

77–8 corpus onustum hesternis uitiiis "the body loaded with yesterday's vices/disorders." The context suggests that the problem is both physical/digestive (severe constipation?) as well as moral; cf. *OLD uitium* 2b, *OLD onustus* 3. What is commonly taken as "high philosophy" in the lines immediately following, e.g. phrases such as "particle of divine air," "rising to one's duties," etc., reads quite differently in a context treating digestion and excretion.

78 praeграuat "drags down."

79 affigit humo "nails to earth." Plato describes the vicious soul as "weighed down" by the body at *Phaedo* 81c, and as "nailed" to it at 83d. Here the images are mixed. For the "weight" metaphor in Stoic psychology, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 65.16. **diuinae ... aurae** "a small bit of divine air." Stoics regarded the human soul as a fragment (ἀπόσπασμα) of the divine, conceived materially as an eternal, rational "spirit" or "fire" that gives rise to and orders all reality; cf. Cic. *Rep.* 6.15, Virg. *Aen.* 6.745–7. For the idea in presocratic philosophy, see West 1983: 222–3. Elsewhere *particula* is used of the soul's constituent elements ("atoms," *OLD particula* 2) only at Lucr. 3.708.

80 dicto citius "quicker than said"; take with both *curata* and *dedit* (*apo koinou*). **curata** "refreshed," sc. with food and drink; cf. *OLD curo* 1b.

81 uegetus "invigorated." **surgit**: for "digestive" connotations, see 77 n., and Cels. 1.2.1.

82 ad melius ... transcurrere "dash over to something better." The verb underscores the man's fitness, and the line's rhythm is suggestively swift.

quondam “on occasion.” Epicureans condoned “occasional” indulgence; cf. Epicur. *Ep.* 3.131 where Epicurus advocates “going over to a more extravagant diet at intervals.”

83 rediens ... annus “the returning year.” The phrase recalls Lucr. 1.311–12 *multis solis redeuntibus annis | anulus in digito subter tenuatur habendo* (with the “thinned” ring echoed by *tenuatum corpus* in the next line). Unlike Lucretius, Epicurus was tolerant of traditional religious observances; see Summers 1995.

84 seu: this second clause is split into two alternatives by *ubique*. Three occasions are proposed for “something better”: (1) festal celebrations, (2) convalescence, (3) old age. **recreare** “restore”; cf. Lucr. 4.17 (*puerorum aetas recreata ualescat*). **tenuatum** = *attenuatum*. Stripped of its prefix, the word’s “thinned” form perhaps mirrors its sense; cf. 76 n. Though *tenuare* would soon take hold as a stylistic metaphor (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.72, Prop. 3.1.5) the uncompounded form occurs only twice in earlier and contemporary usage (both similarly mimetic): Lucr. 1.312 (prev. n.) and Virg. *G.* 3.129. For *tenuatum corpus* as medical terminology (“emaciated,” sc. by disease), cf. Hipp. *Aph.* 2.7, Cels. 3.22.12. **ubique** “and when” (= *atque ubi*). The form in this sense is exceedingly rare, and is easily confused with *ubique* “everywhere”; cf. Liv. 1.6.3.

85 accedent anni “the years add up” (trans. Muecke).

86 tibi “in your case” contrasts with *hic* in 82.

86–7 quidnam ... mollitiem “what will add to that pampered life you already enjoy as a child in robust health,” i.e. how can one expect “softer treatment” (*tractari mollius*) in old age when the limits of “softness” (*mollities*) have already been reached?

87 praesumis: lit. “take/enjoy ahead of time.”

88 dura ualetudo: lit. “hard health,” contrasts both *ualidus* and *mollities*. Nilsson 84 suggests that the metrical harshness of the line (esp. the third-foot caesura blurred by the elision of a long vowel into short) is expressive of its sense. **tarda senectus** “creeping old age,” contrasts with *puer*. The phrase recalls Lucr. 1.414–15 *ut uerear ne tarda prius per membra senectus | serpat*; cf. Enn. *Thyestes* fr. 298 Ribbeck *quemnam te esse dicam, qui tarda in senecta?*

89 rancidum aprum antiqui: the phrase contains two of the poem’s three most unusual and difficult elisions, i.e. the elision of pyrrhic (*aprum*) and dactylic (*rancidum*) words ending in *-m*; see Nilsson 24, 26, table VI. The rhythmic disfiguring of *aprum* (with harsh elisions front and back, difficult in pronunciation) can be taken as the metrical counterpart to the boar’s physical dissolution. For rancid boar as a poetic symbol, cf. Mart. 3.50, esp. 7–8. On pork saved for special occasions as a sign of rustic piety, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.649–50, describing the feast of Baucis and Philemon.

90 *hac mente, quod* “with the idea that.”

90–2 *hospes ... consumeret* “it would be more appropriate for a guest, arriving rather late, to eat it spoiled than for the host to bolt it down while it’s fresh.”

91 *uitiatum* “spoiled.” Some MSS read *uitiaret*, in which case the contrast being made is: “he (the late-arriving guest) causes it to go bad” versus “he (the host) consumes it while fresh”; cf. [Acro] *ad* 89: *quia commodius hospes uitaret seruatum, quam totum dominus absumeret*. But the better, and much clearer contrast is between “spoiled” versus “fresh.” For the boar as a symbol of communal feasting, cf. *Juv.* 1.140–1.

92 *integrum edax*: the last of the poem’s three most difficult elisions (a heavier “middle” syllable giving way to a short vowel; see 89 n.). Again sound imitates sense as the voracious *edax* “bites off” the final syllable of *integrum*. Further emphasizing the boar’s diminution is the short second syllable of *intēgrum*; cf. 113 *intēgris*.

92–3 *hos ... heroas*: the passage adapts Hesiod’s nostalgia for the age of epic heroes (*Op.* 172–5) to a starker, distinctly Epicurean account of human prehistory; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6.649 *heroes nati melioribus annis*. Of.’s *antiqui* enjoy none of the sweet abundance of epic’s Elysian “heroes.” Their closest counterparts are the earth-born primitives of Lucretius’ fifth book, whose diet and lifestyles, though regarded as ideally “natural” by the poet, are far from idyllic; cf. *Lucr.* 5.941–4.

93 *tellus ... prima* “the primordial earth,” *OLD primus* 8. Near the end of his fifth book (esp. 5.780–1010) Lucretius argues that all forms of life emerged from the “new earth” (*noua ... tellus*, 790) and that the constitution of earth-born man was, consequently, “rugged” and “earthy” (on their rugged diet, see prev. n.). At *S.* 1.3.99 *primis ... terris* signals the start of an extended parody of Lucretius’ account of human origins; see Gowers *ad loc.* *tulisset*: possibly an etymological pun on *tellus*; cf. *Isid. Orig.* 14.1.1 *tellus quia fructus eius tollimus*; cf. *Lucr.* 5.790–1 *tellus...sustulit*.

94–6 *das ... humanam* “do you set some store by public acclaim, because it takes hold of human ears more charmingly than song”? Though suppressed, the connection of this sentence to the next is “Well so be it! But ...”; cf. *Persius*’ imitation of these lines at *Pers.* 2.42 *esto auge, sed grandes patinae*. Most editors mark the sentence as a question. *occupet*: with few exceptions (notably R) the principal MSS prefer this reading to *occupat*. The subjunctive gives the reason why fame is valued; cf. *Plaut. Mil.* 58–9 *amant ted omnes mulieres ... qui sis tam pulcher*. The indicative states a general truth. *grandes ... grande*: an “epic” repetition, see 39 n. The saying perhaps draws on the folk tale of the fisherman’s gift to the tyrant; cf. *Hdt.* 3.42 ἰχθὺν μέγαν, *Juv.* 4.115 *grande ... monstrum*, *Suet. Tib.* 60 *grandem mullum*. In each case the “big fish” brings disaster or disgrace. For possible

literary connotations, cf. Callimachus' famous dictum μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν "a big book is a big evil," on which see Cameron 1995: 52. Both Juv. 4 and Mart. *Ep.* 3.45 use the "big rhombus" as a metaphor for an overblown and fawning literary style; see Gowers 1993: 202. **una cum damno** "along with financial ruin." **dedecus**: the disgrace is both moral (*OLD* s.v. 1) and physical ("ugliness" *OLD* s.v. 2). Pers. 2.42 reworks the saying with *grandes patinae tucetaque crassa* "big plates and fat sausages," where again the adjectives describe not only the overstuffed appearance of the foods, but their bloating effects on the eater; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 95.18 *multos morbos multa fercula fecerunt*, where the saying concludes a detailed list of the physical ravages of a rich diet, including pallor and unsightly fat. On fat as a literary metaphor, see 6.14–15 n.

97 iratum patruum: if his father died, the young man's paternal uncle (*patruus*) took control of his inheritance. This authority passed to the young man at puberty. Thus Roman *patruī*, especially in comedy, are typically "enraged" because their function in limiting the young man's spending is strictly censorial; see Bettini 1991: 14–38, cf. 3.88 *ne sis patruus mihi*, *Carm.* 3.12.3 *patruae uerba linguae*. Fathers, typically "harsh" in comedy, maintained strict control of their sons' spending for life. For Roman family relations and laws of inheritance, see Dixon 1992: 41–4. **iniquum** "ill-disposed toward."

98–9 cum ... pretium "when, destitute, you will lack the penny it takes to buy a noose"; cf. the plight of the *egens amans* "indigent lover" of Plaut. *Ps.* 88–9 [Ps.] *sed quid ea drachuma facere uis?* [Cal.] *Restim uolo mihi emere ... qui me faciam pensilem*.

98 egenti: dat. of person w. *deerit* (scan as two syllables).

99 Trausius: otherwise unknown. Perhaps "Shatterer," i.e. "Wastrel," from Gk θραῦσις "shattering." For wealth as something "shattered," cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6.97 "may advancing time not shatter (μὴ θραύσοι) prosperity," Eur. *HF* 780 "shattered (ἔθραυσεν) the black chariot of wealth." For Latin transliterating Gk θ, see Buck 1933: 119.

100 uectigalia "revenues," i.e. in the form of rents from agricultural holdings. The term normally refers to state monies derived from public lands and spent in the public interest. [Acro] *ad loc.* makes a point of the speaker's "arrogance" here in applying the term to private wealth; cf. N–H *ad Carm.* 3.16.39–40 on the *parua uectigalia* of H.'s Sabine estate. **uectigalia magna**: the rarity of this type of line-ending adds special emphasis to the adjective *magna*. Only one other time in book 2 (8.9 *faecula Coa*, see n.) does a line end with an adjective directly preceded by an agreeing noun that has the same short ending. Winbolt 1903: 153 points out that such endings occur in Latin hexameters only when the adjective is "strongly distinctive, predicative or anthithetical." Harrison 1991 shows

that these endings (of the *Discordia taetra* type) occur with a high rate of frequency in early Latin poetry (Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius), but are used very sparingly by Catullus and Augustan writers (e.g. two instances in 9,997 lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*).

101 amplas “fully sufficient for” c. dat., *OLD amplus* 3c.

102–5 Recommendations of generosity toward friends, the gods and/or the state are fairly common in Greek moral literature (see Lejay 317–18). Particularly relevant here are Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1120a–22b, and Xen. *Oec.* 11.9, since both recommend ὠφέλεια “assisting others” as an honorable use of wealth: (Arist.) φιλοῦνται ... οἱ ἐλευθέριοι ... ὠφέλιμοι γάρ “the generous are loved, since they are beneficial to others,” (Xen.) ἡδὺ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ θεοὺς μεγαλείως τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους ... ἐπωφελεῖν “for I delight in honoring the gods lavishly and benefiting my friends.” Ofellus’ name possibly hints at his role here in urging “beneficence” to the gods and the state as proper uses of wealth – the only instance of such advice in the *Satires*, see Rudd 1966: 172. For likely metaphorical dimensions of this advice (i.e. recommending the proper use of poetic talents), cf. Plat. *Rep.* 607d where Socrates urges poets to write poetry that “not only gives pleasure, but benefits the state as well (ὠφελίμη πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας)”; cf. Brink *ad Ep.* 2.1.124 *utilis urbi*: “‘the poet benefits his city’, ὠφέλιμος being the key-word for this notion also in Greek literary theory.”

102 quod ... possis = *non est (aliquid) melius (in) quo possis insumere quod superat?* **insumere** “to spend on” here takes an accusative object of what is spent (*quod superat* “what’s left”) and an ablative of the thing spent on (*quo* = *in quo* “on which”).

103 indignus “undeserving,” sc. of poverty. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1120b argues that “those who most deserve wealth are the least wealthy” since they are least obsessed with acquiring money or keeping it.

104 deum = *deorum*. The old form adds a suitably archaic tone. The most striking feature of Of.’s advice here is its specificity: Greek moralists (above 102–5 n.) recommended “generosity toward the gods” in general terms. The admonition to “restore fallen temples” is unique to Horace, occurring only here and in two of the more overtly “political” *Odes*: 2.15.19–20 and 3.6.1–2. Within two years of this satire’s publication, Octavian instituted a far-reaching program of restoring the city’s temples; see Zanker 1988: 103–10. The program was foreshadowed by the building activities carried out by Agrippa as curule aedile in 33 (see 3.185 n.), and by Octavian’s restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in 32. Of.’s advice (though ostensibly recalled from the period of H.’s youth) probably reflects on these activities.

105 emetiris “dole out,” as if by the bushel. The word is used of grain distributions at Aug. *Mon. Anc.* 3.11–12; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 16. The fantastically

rich were said to “dole out cash in baskets”; cf. Xen. *HG* 3.2.27 “(Xenias) said to dole out silver in bushelbaskets (μεδίδωναι ἀπομετρήσασθαι),” *S.* 1.1.95–6 *diues* | *ut metiretur nummos*. **aceruo**: the ablative depends on the *ex* of *emetiris*. For “the pile” as a crucial philosophical and aesthetic symbol in book 1, see Freudenburg 2001: 28–9, 42–3.

106 uni ... res “you, of course, and you alone will always have control of your affairs” is ironic. **recte** “in good order” (*OLD* s.v. gb). **res** “affairs/money,” i.e. having the same double-sense as Gk χρήμα.

107 risus “laughing stock”; cf. Archil. fr. 172 West νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς ἄστοϊσι φαίνεται γέλως “now you (sc. Lycambes) appear a great big laugh to all” (trans. Fowler). **uterne** “which of the two.” *-ne* is pleonastic (*OLD* s.v. 1b), and puts special emphasis on the interrogative word.

108 ad “when up against.” **casus dubios** “the uncertainties of chance.” **fidet sibi**: self-confidence against the whims of chance is the hallmark of the Stoic *sapiens*; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 9.11.1.

109 assuerit “will have accustomed” c. acc. and dat.

110 metuensque futuri “fearful of what’s to come,” like the ant of 1.1.35 *non incauta futuri*. Stoics recommended not “fear” of the future, but *praemeditatio futurorum malorum* (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.29) as a means of readying oneself (*se praeparare*) for future distress; see N–H *ad Carm.* 2.10.14–15. In its extreme form, this “premeditation” entailed dressing in rags and eating wretched fare as practice for poverty; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 18.1–11. Of.’s premeditation is rather different in being constant and decidedly milder than the version described by Seneca; cf. the Epicurean dictum of Sen. *Ep.* 16.7 *si ad naturam uiues, numquam eris pauper*. The practice of preparing for disaster by dwelling on it was severely criticized by Epicureans, who taught that tranquility of mind was achieved by the contemplation of pleasures, not of potential calamities; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.28 “Epicurus holds that the expectation of evil (*opinionem mali*) is a cause of distress,” 3.32 “(Epicurus) is of the opinion that evils do not become less difficult by being rehearsed ahead of time, and that it is actually foolish to meditate on coming evil.”

111 in pace ... bello: the metaphor is common in discussions of Stoic premeditation (prev. n.), e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 18.6 *miles in media pace decurrit, sine ullo hoste uallum iacit*; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.31 on premeditation as *arma contra casus*. In Of.’s case the metaphorical commonplace possesses a literal truth: the confiscation of his land was, in fact, the result of war (below 114, 129–30 nn.).

112–14 puer ... accisis “as a small child I observed this same Ofellus using his undiminished resources no more lavishly than he uses them now that they have been cut into.” The personal reminiscence of a past

mentor imitates Socratic dialogue; cf. Plat. *Soph.* 217c “as a young boy I [sc. Socrates] encountered Parmenides,” Cic. *Sen.* 30 *ego Lucium Metellum memini puer*; cf. Virg. *G.* 4.125–7 *memini me ... Corycium uidisse senem*.

113 intēgrīs: the lengthened second syllable is perhaps a metrical complement to the idea of wholeness; cf. the diminished *intēgrum* of line 92 above (see n.). **noui:** a verb of perceiving with predicative participle *usum*. The construction emphasizes the immediate, first-hand nature of the encounter; see NLS §94. **usum:** the perfect tense here expresses incomplete action contemporaneous with that of the main verb; see NLS §103.

114 accisis “cut into” in the sense of “diminished” (*OLD accido*² 3). **uideas:** present potential subjunctive. **metato** “measured.” The farm was surveyed by the *metator* and parceled out to a new owner. For the same passive use of *metor*, cf. *Carm.* 2.15.14–15 *decempedis | metata priuatis*. **agello:** the diminutive expresses sentimental affection: “in his dear little field, now measured and parceled out”; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9.3 *possessor agelli* “our dear little field’s confiscator,” *Dirae* 45 *pertica ... nostros metata est impia agellos* “the surveyor’s impious rod has measured our dear little fields.”

115 mercede “for pay,” ablative of price = Gk μισθοῦ; cf. *Ep.* 1.18.36 *holitoris aget mercede caballum* (“he will drive the vegetable-seller’s nag for pay”). The suggestion is that Of. is a paid laborer (“tiller,” *OLD colonus* 1) or perhaps a “tenant-farmer” who pays a fee to work a section of his old land; see Courtney 2013a: 134, and cf. 6.11–12, Lucian *Tim.* 8 μισθοῦ γεωργεῖ “he [sc. the once-rich Timon] works the soil for pay.” Italian farmers were proverbial for their self-sufficient and stable lives; cf. Cato *Agr.* pr. 4; Virg. *G.* 2.511–13. Here the robust farmer legend is brought in only to be shattered with the insertion of the crass “for pay” directly between *fortem* and *colonom*.

116 non ... temere “not casually,” i.e. “not unless I had a good reason.” Of. goes on (in the “but if ... then” clause of 118–22) to describe two non-holiday occasions when he did have reason to serve more.

117 holus “vegetables,” a collective singular. **pede pernae** “ham’s foot,” apparently the *ungula* “trotter” with the small section of leg below the hock. For salted pork and vegetables as a typical rustic “feast,” see 6.64 n. The trotter had little meat or fat; cf. Cato *Agr.* 158.1 “if you have no ham-trotters (*ungula de perna*), add a sliver of ham as lean as possible.” Of.’s daily ration fits (or determines) his designation as “Mr. Sliver/Pork Cutlet” (see 2 n. above): like the man himself, his diet is simple, countrified and lean. For *ofellae puteolanae* as a type of salted and smoked ham, see Cato *Agr.* 162 (with Goujard 1975 *ad loc.*), and Gowers 1993: 69 commenting on the conclusion of Cato’s *De agri cultura*: “It can be no accident that the last, redolent image of the book is of a side of smoked bacon

dangling from Roman country rafters. And who better than someone called Marcus *Porcius* Cato to shoulder the weight of Roman mythology?"

119 operum uacuo "free from work," because of the rain. Agricultural writers advised working indoors when the weather was too wet for field-work (some even prescribed chores for holidays, e.g. Virg. *G.* 268-75, Cato *Agr.* 2.4); see esp. Hes. *Op.* 493-7, Virg. *G.* 1.259-67; also Kenney 1984 *ad Moretum* 66-8. Though he feels compelled to explain why he takes the day off from work, Of. shows a softer side in breaking free of this work-obsessed mentality.

120 uicinus: the detail draws on Cic. *Sen.* 46, a romanticized description of the Elder Cato's "neighborly" feasts in the Sabine countryside (see below 6.71-6 n.). This is just one in a cluster of references to Cato in the poem's final lines (see 117 n., and below *passim*) that find H. aligning his dearly "remembered" Of. with an idealized literary type. **bene erat** (sc. *nobis*) "we were fully content" here takes an ablative of means (*OLD bene* 9b). **pisci-bus**: an urban delicacy associated with Greek decadence; see 22 and 8.42 nn., and cf. *Epod.* 2.48-50. The "homegrown feast" is one of several details connecting Of. to the Elder Cato and Virgil's Corycian Gardener; cf. *G.* 4.133 *nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis*. For Cato's complaints against fish, see Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 8.2, and *Quaest. conv.* 668c.

121-2 pullo atque haedo: a celebratory sacrifice is assumed. These fresh meats are notably young and tender, set against the salted, fibrous trotters of Of.'s ordinary diet; cf. Cato's proud account of his villa's homegrown sufficiency at Cic. *Sen.* 56 *abundat porco haedo agno gallina lacte caseo melle*, and the typical country fare of Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.162-3 *uuam, | pullos, oua, cadum temeti*. **pensilis** "hung up," sc. to dry. **secundas ... mensas**: lit. "second tables," i.e. the dessert course. Of.'s dessert items are dry and sweet. **ornabat**: ironic, suggesting a display more lavish than nuts and raisins; cf. *Carm.* 1.37.2-4 *nunc Saliaribus | ornare puluinar deorum | tempus erat dapibus*, and Courtney *ad Juv.* 11.64 *nullis ornata macellis*. **duplice** "split." Figs were halved for drying.

123 post ... magistra "afterwards our game was drinking, with (each one's) conscience dictating (when and how much)." The situation is that of 6.67-70 (see n.) where the guests take as much wine as they like whenever they like. For *culpa* here meaning "conscience" (*OLD culpa* 2), see Bond 1980: 124-6; cf. [Acro] *ad loc.* explaining that *culpa* is to be imagined as the feast's *magister bibendi*: *siquando libere potare uolebant antiqui ... dicebant se magistrum facere culpam*.

124 ac ... alto "and Ceres, invoked in prayer to rise high on the stalk." Ceres, the goddess who presides over the farmers' fields, receives a libation, then the drinking among friends begins; cf. the libation to rustic

gods that marks the transition to drinking and philosophical conversation at 6.67 below (see n.). The detail draws on Plat. *Symp.* 176a and Xen. *Symp.* 2.1, where libation and song mark the transition from the meal *per se* to the drinking and conversation that follow. **uenerata**: *OLD* s.v. 1.b; cf. 6.8 *ueneror* (see n.). The verb takes an optative subjunctive clause that reproduces the original prayer. For *ita ... surgeret* recasting an original *ita ... surgas* “thus may you rise up,” see Palmer *ad loc.*

125 contractae seria frontis “the wrinkles of a worried brow”; cf. *Carm.* 3.29.16 where simple dinners taken “under the sparing Lar of poor men’s homes,” far from the city of Rome, are said to “smooth out a worried brow” (*sollicitam explicuere frontem*).

126 tumultus “upheavals” refers to both civil and psychological disturbances, as at *Carm.* 2.16.10–11 (see N–H *ad loc.*). As a reference to Rome’s recent civil wars, cf. Virg. *G.* 1.464–5. **Fortuna**: see below 7.88 n.

127 quantum ... imminuet “how much will she subtract from this?” i.e. from the pleasures of the rustic feast he has described. Of.’s lifestyle remains unchanged despite the loss of his farm.

128 pueri “boys,” the *gnati* of 115. **nituistis**: Of. takes a farmer’s-eye view of his sons’ condition: *nitere* “have a healthy sheen” applies routinely to animals and crops (*OLD nitere* 4a–b), rarely to persons (4c). For the same “rustic” perspective, cf. Cato *Agr.* 1.2 *uicini quo pacto niteant id animum aduertito: in bona regione bene nitere oportebit*. **incola** “dweller,” contrasting *erus* “owner” in the next line. The weak designation stresses the impermanence of the newcomer’s control over the land; cf. Virg. *Dirae* 45, *Ecl.* 9.2–3 (cited at 114 n. above) and *Ecl.* 1.70–2 where the dispossessed vent their rage with claims of rightful ownership. In contrast, Of. is unflustered by his loss and remarkably indifferent to the newcomer who dispossessed him.

129–30 The saying defies being assigned strictly to one author or school. It is attested in various forms over a broad range of philosophical and literary sources. As such, the maxim’s “vagabond” character is strangely illustrative of its sense: like the field it describes, the saying has no fixed owner. Rather, it “passes into the use” now of one author, now of another, with specific deployment constituting all that any individual writer can claim as “his own.” Traditionally the saying was used as a “metaphorical” commonplace. Here it is also literally true (as is the maxim of 111 above; see n.). For the earlier history of the maxim, esp. in its deployment of legal terminology, see Kenney *ad Lucr.* 3.971, N–H *ad Carm.* 2.14.21–4, esp. *breuem dominum sequetur*, Brink *ad Ep.* 2.2.158–79, and Sen. *Ep.* 98.10 *quicquid est, dominus inscriberis, apud te est, tuum non est*.

131 nequities “depraved living.” **uafri inscitia iuris** “ignorance of the crafty legal system,” i.e. lack of *scientia iuris* “legal expertise.” The phrase

recalls 1.81 *sanctarum inscitia legum* (see n.). In contrast to Trebatius, whose attitude toward the law is one of deep respect, Of., a victim of quasi-legal processes, sees only the system's technical inscrutability and potential for abuse. The *lex Titia* of 43 BCE provided a thin veneer of legality for the land-confiscations of 41; Dio 47.2 comments bitterly on the law's illegitimacy. For various exemptions from confiscation, see Keppie 1983: 102.

132 postremum "at last." **certe** "at any rate."

133 Vmbreni: the settler is otherwise unknown. His name ("Shadowman") hints at his newfound, rustic security: *umbra* "shade" is a ubiquitous symbol of leisured withdrawal in Roman literature, i.e. the *uita umbratilis*; cf. esp. Ov. *Am.* 1.9.42 with McKeown's note, and N-H *ad Carm.* 1.7.19–21. In the world of Virgil's *Eclogues* shade bears the added significance of security in ownership – an idea with obvious possibilities here; see Smith 1965: 300 on the sustained contrast in *Eclogues* 1 between the "cool, shaded" security of Tityrus, who retains his land, and the "hot, thirsty" homelessness of Meliboeus. **sub nomine:** the names of veteran settlers were inscribed on bronze tablets, the *forma coloniae*, which listed details of the size, shape, and location of their allotments. The name on the *forma* became the farmstead's lasting title; see Keppie 1983: 97.

134 proprius: for legal connotations, see Brink *ad Ep.* 2.2.158 and 172.

134–5 sed ... alii "but it becomes now mine to use, now someone else's"; cf. *Carm.* 3.29.51–2 (*Fortuna*) *transmutat incertos honores, | nunc mihi nunc alii benigna. cedet:* the language is testamentary; cf. *CIL* 9.3388 *hoc monumentum heredi non cedit*. For *cedere* "become property of," see *OLD cedo* 15a. Here the notion of legal ownership is deftly undercut by the insertion of *in usum* "for the using" between the verb and its objects; cf. *Carm.* 1.27.1 *natis in usum laetitiae scyphis* "cups meant for pleasure's use."

135–6 The solemnity of thought is enhanced by the polyptoton (*fortes fortiaque*) and the mannered arrangement (abCAB) of the final verse. Flintoff 1973: 816–17 argues that these lines develop a Virgilian theme in trademark, Virgilian style, referring specifically to *Ecl.* 9.4–5, where Moeris describes his encounter with the veteran who takes his land. In contrast to Of., Moeris regards the farm he has lost as his lasting possession (*nostri agelli*). The result is his utter despair at fortune's coup.

SATIRE 3

The poem launches *in medias res*, with a voice issuing from the blue to scold a laggard writer (quickly revealed to be H. himself) for writing too slowly, and for publishing only a few poems per year. In chiding the satirist for "unweaving" all that he writes (*scriptorum quaeque retexens*, 2), his accuser

posits an Odyssean analogy (the first of many “epic” spins on the follies of man in the poem) that situates H. at Penelope’s loom, spinning delay for expectant suitors. Differently construed, the same metaphor finds H. agonizing over the quality of what he writes: in weaving, as in knitting, to correct a mistake involves unweaving one’s finished work all the way to the point of the mistake in order to fix it. Thus, with a disparaging wave of the hand, the aesthetic refinements that H. had worked so hard to establish as virtues of good satiric writing in book 1, i.e. the need to write slowly, meticulously, and in small amounts, are summarily dismissed by his accuser as the workings of moral vice: proof of laziness, and the poet’s lack of inner resolve. Caught burning the night oil (as Penelope had done), H. is called out for wasting valuable time: on perfection.

Immediately following this opening salvo we are given to understand that the scolding voice belongs to a certain Damasippus (hereafter Dam.), a recent convert to Stoicism who has somehow made his way to the poet’s Sabine estate. The first and only thing we are given to “see” of Dam. is his philosopher’s beard (17, 35), a scraggly outward sign not only of his zealous commitment to his cause, but of his pronounced disregard for the niceties of appearance and style – a visual expression of his commitment to “letting things go” as Nature sees fit. As a “style is the man” metaphor (a conceit much explored in Stoic thought), Dam.’s unruly beard looks ahead to the unchecked shagginess of the moral discourse that follows, in what will end up being the second longest (and by far the most metrically freewheeling) poem that H. will ever write. Like the beard that Dam. proudly lets go, the lecture he delivers is unabashedly disarranged and unsightly, and yet it is “all natural” and morally sincere.

In the course of the poem’s opening exchange, Dam. indicates that H. has escaped to the countryside during the Saturnalia, with every good intention of reading classical Greek texts relevant to his unfinished projects (*Sermones* book 2 and the *Epodes*, see 11–12 n.), and getting some writing done. But he says that H. has fallen prey to laziness, that he drinks too much, and sleeps his days away. Thus, from the very first lines of the poem we have a solid sense of why H. has slipped away to his new “sweet little villa” in the Sabine hills (*uillula* in line 10 is the first mention of the Sabine Villa in H.’s works), but the poem gives no clear sense of why Dam. happens to be there. Still, there are certain clues that are dropped along the way. The quasi-“epiphanic” salvation (see 38 n.) and conversion story that Dam. tells in lines 34–46 allows readers to intuit his motivations for tracking H. all the way to his shining new villa: he is there to save H., whom he considers a lost soul: a storm-tossed Odysseus, bound for moral shipwreck (cf. the *improba Siren* of line 14), as he himself once was. In

other words, he comes to H. as his Stoic savior, just as Stertinius, his Stoic mentor (see below), had once come to him: like a god in a storm.

The back story that Dam. tells about his bankruptcy and miraculous moral recovery helps account for his motivations as a Stoic preacher. But it does not adequately explain how he has ended up at H.'s Sabine estate (has H. invited him to spend the Saturnalia with him there?), or how he happens to know so much about H., right down to the contents of the bookbag that he has packed for the trip. This is where several letters of Cicero written in 46–45 BCE provide valuable information that goes some way toward accounting for Dam.'s strange presence in a place where he does not seem to belong, a shaggy Stoic preacher at a stylish Epicurean retreat. The key piece of the puzzle lies with the villa itself, which is anything but the “sweet little farm” suggested by the diminutive *uillula* in line 10 (for the villa as a sprawling luxury estate, see the intro. to poem 6). The poem makes clear that H. has only recently taken possession of his Sabine estate which, we are informed in poem 6, he received as a gift from his patron, Maecenas. Near the end of his lecture, as if to bring the discussion back around to where it began, Dam. returns to the issue of H.'s villa, referring to certain unspecified building activities that H. has undertaken there (see 308 n.). He scolds these activities as a vain and delusional attempt on H.'s part to keep up with Maecenas, whose recently completed “Gardens” in Rome had set a new standard for showy opulence (see nn. at 312 and 6.33).

In a letter of 46 BCE (*Fam.* 7.23) Cicero refers to efforts that he himself had recently undertaken to make improvements to his Tusculan villa. He has commissioned the letter's recipient, his learned Epicurean friend M. Fabius Gallus, to purchase statues for his library. In the letter he complains that Gallus has paid too much for the statues, and that some of them fall short of the quality he had in mind (statues of the Muses), while others (statues of Mars and of Maenads) are not suitable decorations for a library. Twice in the course of the letter Cicero expresses his hope that a certain Damasippus will stand by his commitment to purchase whatever statues that Cicero decides not to keep. Subsequently, in two letters to Atticus of March 45 BCE, Cicero discusses his efforts to purchase a “garden” residence near the city of Rome. At *Att.* 12.29 he mentions the possibility of retaining the services of Damasippus to find a suitable place, and at 12.33 he asks Atticus to approach Damasippus who, he has heard, was undertaking to subdivide a large plot of land along the river into parcels in order to sell them at fixed prices. Taken together, this evidence suggests that H.'s Dam. and the Damasippus of Cicero's letters are the same man, and that his business involved purchasing and/or developing villas for the ultra-rich near Rome, and outfitting them with luxury goods,

such as statues and antiques (for Dam. as a connoisseur of fine wines, see 2.8.16 n.). In other words, Dam. is exactly the sort of person one might expect H. to have on hand, whether as an advisor or buyer (or both), as he undertakes to develop his new estate and outfit it with all manner of imported luxuries. But, by this point in his life, Dam. is no longer in the business. The advice that he gives is not that of a real estate baron and trader in luxury goods. Rather, it is that of someone who has seen the light, and who knows better than to engage in the activities that now occupy H., as they had once occupied himself. It is the advice of someone who has “been there and done that,” offered to someone whom he now considers “mad” in the way that he once was, but who has yet to learn.

At some point during the twelve-year period that separates Cicero’s late correspondence from the writing of this poem, Dam.’s business collapsed and he lost all that he had. The metaphor that Dam. uses to describe his bankruptcy as a “shipwreck” (see 18–19 n.) once again finds Dam. aligning his travails with those of a storm-tossed Odysseus. But in this particular case the construal may be less a self-aggrandizing (and typically Stoic) metaphor *per se* than an allusion to the specific cause of Dam.’s financial demise: a shipment of luxury goods from the east, recklessly leveraged by borrowed funds. In fact, the political upheavals of the late forties and early thirties BCE would seem to have been reason enough for a collapse in Rome’s luxury real estate market: hundreds of prominent Romans had their properties seized by the Triumvirs in the proscriptions of 43–42 BCE, and many hundreds of senators and knights abandoned Rome for the safe haven of Sicily in the years separating the battles of Philippi (42) and Naulochus (36). Whether or not any actual shipwreck was the cause of his financial ruin, the suggestion that his metaphor puts into play sets the story of Dam.’s business failure, his despair and conversion, within a familiar frame: it aligns his conversion tale with that of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect.⁸ Diogenes Laertius (7.2–5) relates that, before turning to philosophy, Zeno had been a merchant, and that he lost all that he had when his ship, loaded with purple luxury goods, sank on a voyage from Phoenicia to Piraeus. Zeno would later claim to have been blessed by his bad luck (νῦν εὐπλόηκα, ὅτε νεναυάγηκα “I started to sail along nicely, once I crashed my ship,” Diog. Laert. 7.4), because it was as a destitute business failure, washed up in Athens, that he came into contact with Crates, who

⁸ Taking a similar tack, Bond 1987: 7 argues that Dam.’s conversion story may be based on that of Chrysippus, whose turn toward philosophy came about after his inherited wealth “was confiscated to the king’s treasury” (εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθείσης, Diog. Laert. 7.181).

turned him toward philosophy. Via a thorough prosopographical study of the cognomen Damasippus in the late Republic, Verboven 1997 has concluded that H.'s Dam. can be securely identified as a son of P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus Damasippus, the Tribune of 53 BCE (who died in a shipwreck shortly after the battle of Thapsus in 46 BCE). This puts Dam., by birth, into the family of the Iunii Bruti, and by adoption into the family of the Licinii Crassi. His financial crash, in other words, was not that of some obscure parvenu who had somehow managed to hoist himself to the top of the business world in Rome by relying solely on his business acumen and his fearlessness in taking big risks. Rather, it was that of a man of deep pockets, and impressive family renown: someone well connected, and flush with inherited wealth, who took his family fortune down with him, along with his good name, by recklessly engaging in the disreputable activities of speculation and trade. As Verboven 1997: 216 points out, not only would the bankruptcy of such a man have been a scandal, his deigning to engage in trade in the first place "as a full-time occupation and an abnormal obsession" would have marked Dam. as a man of ill repute, putting him in the same moral league as the greedy usurers against whom he rails in this poem (Nerius in v. 69, Perellius in v. 75).

The man who called Dam. back to life when he was about to jump to his death was Stertinius, an unfortunately named Stoic preacher (*stertere* "to snore") who, according to [Acro] *ad Ep.* 1.12.20, wrote 220 books of Stoic philosophy in Latin. Like Fabius and Crispinus, the *ad nauseam* Stoic preachers of book 1 (see Gowers *ad* 1.1.13–14 and 1.1.118–19), Stertinius (if [Acro] can be believed) produced massive, "Chrysippean" amounts of writing, not a single word of which survives. The particular wording of *Ep.* 1.12.20 (*Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen*⁹) suggests that H. considered Stertinius' writings somewhat "crazed" and obscure, like those of Empedocles. [Acro] *ad loc.* asserts that H. "censures" (*notat*) Empedocles and Stertinius in this line "because with their verses they made philosophy more obscure" – strangely suggesting that Stertinius wrote in verse, which is at odds with the rest of his note. Outside of these meager references to Stertinius in H. and his scholiasts, Stertinius the philosopher does not exist. His books, despite their bulk, left no perceptible impact on later philosophy. The only person who does not seem to understand that this man is perhaps somewhat less transcendent in his knowledge than he lets on is Dam.

Dam. says that Stertinius pulled him back from the brink by convincing him that he was no more "insane" in having pursued his own ruin than

⁹ Cf. Diog. Laert. 1.179 describing Chrysippus as "extremely acute" (ὀξύτατος).

were the money-lenders who funded his pursuits, only to lose great sums for their efforts. The great bulk of the poem (from lines 77 to 295) is a further exploration of this “all fools are mad” theme (a standard Stoic paradox), quoted from memory by Dam. as the speech that saved his life. Beginning at line 77, Stertinius turns from the specific case of Dam. to that of the crowd that has gathered to hear him rant. He invites them to step forward one at a time (*ordine adite*) to have their “diseases” diagnosed, i.e. the five canonical vices of Stoic diatribe: greed (lines 82–157), political ambition (158–223), luxury (224–80, within which he includes lust in lines 259–71), and superstition (281–95). Stertinius rails longest (76 lines) on the topic of *avaritia*, the vice that brought about Dam.’s financial demise; the second item on the list receives 66 lines, the third 57, and the last item, *superstitio*, receives a scant 15 lines. Lejay 357 cites the remarkable irregularities of this approach to argue that, having failed to calculate the cost to his lungs, Stertinius simply runs out of gas (“Il s’essouffle en parlant”). Whether the speech is to be considered physically “deflationary” or not, it is clear that Stertinius’ treatment of the five vices is wildly imbalanced: detailed and expansive at the front end, but broken off (with no peroration or conclusion) at the end. An evenly balanced treatment of the same five vices can be found at Pers. 5.132–89.

Near the beginning and end of his speech (lines 44 and 287), Stertinius cites Chrysippus, the third head of the Stoa in Athens, as an authority for his lessons. If there is any muse figure to be found for Stertinius in this poem, it is Chrysippus, a philosopher notorious for piling things on in the 705 books that he left behind, by “setting down anything that occurred to him” (παῖν τὸ ὑποπεσόν γράφων, Diog. Laert. 7.180) to make his point. Like Chrysippus, Stertinius is less interested in “crafting” an argument than he is in “accumulating” one. His speech makes the same point from many different angles, offering dozens of variations on a single theme. His mode of argumentation is anecdotal, pushy and repetitious, and the style untethered and prone to wild swings from high to low. The hexameters through which his message is conveyed are nothing short of sham-bolic, and they feature many oddities that are either quite rare in H., or that he uses nowhere else (e.g. with four elisions in rapid succession, line 86 nearly defies pronunciation. For the many metrical anomalies of the poem, see the nn. below *passim*, and Freudenburg 1996). To invest his lessons with an air of vital and lasting importance, Stertinius repeatedly looks to the tragic stage for fools to berate (his one extended reference to Comedy occurs at lines 259–71). There, among the famous mad heroes of tragedy, he finds specimens of catastrophic folly, and he shows a pronounced penchant for engaging with them in “apostrophic” interrogations in order to bring his lessons to life (see 187–223 n.). Davus, the Stoic

slave preacher of *S.* 2.7, shows a similar penchant for dramatic illustration, and for not quite knowing where the stage ends and reality begins. But the primary point of reference for Davus is comedy rather than tragedy.

The main metaphor that Stertinius works to death in his lecture is the analogy likening moral vice (i.e. the “mad” passions of greed, ambition, etc.) to bodily disease. This body/soul medical analogy was common in Hellenistic philosophy, and it defies being assigned to any particular school.¹⁰ That said, it was marked as a particular favorite of the Stoics, especially of Chrysippus, who showed a keen interest in the analogy in his *Therapeutics*, and made widespread use of it throughout his many works (see Tieleman 2003: 142–57). At *Tusc.* 4.23 Cicero asserts that “too much effort is expended by the Stoics, most of all by Chrysippus, in drawing an analogy between diseases of the body and those of the mind” (*nimum operae consumitur a Stoicis, maxime a Chrysippo, dum morbis corporum comparatur morborum animi similitudo*). Later in the same dialogue Cicero decides to make use of the comparison (he will explore its potentials over many pages), but as an initial caveat he insists that he will use it more sparingly than the Stoics are wont to (*collatione utamur aliquando, sed parcius quam solent Stoici*, 4.27). It is precisely in this Chrysippean penchant for overdoing things and never letting up that Dam. comes to seem overzealous by the poem’s end. In the satire’s last line, just as Dam. is about to launch into the further particulars of H.’s madness, he is dismissed as a greater madman than the man he is seeking to cure. This is a decidedly Epicurean note on which to end. In a fragment from the second book of the *Academics* (*Academicorum Reliquiae* p. 24 Plasberg = Augustine *Contra Academicos* 3.7), Cicero has one of the dialogue’s interlocutors ask “is it not obvious that to Epicurus the entire Stoic sect seems insane, and that compared to them the Academics seem like modest and careful human beings?” (*nonne apertum est totam illam porticum insanam, Academicos autem prae illis modestos cautosque homines uideri Epicuro?*).

It is with this Epicurean wave of the hand that the Stoic zealot is dismissed as a madman at the poem’s end. Pretending to be overwhelmed by the power of Dam.’s arguments (see 326 n.), H. makes a quick dash for the exit, and that is that. But before leaving the scene, Dam. manages to get under H.’s skin and make him squirm. At lines 300–2 H. asks Dam. to diagnose the particular disease that he thinks he suffers from (something similar happens at the end of Persius’ third satire, a poem heavily

¹⁰ On the early history of the medical analogy in the late fifth century BCE, see Holmes 2010: 192–227. On the prominence of the analogy in Hellenistic ethics, see Nussbaum 1994.

informed by this satire at its beginning and end), and thus at line 303 Dam. turns from his memorized speech, in which he had targeted mostly type characters and the mad fools of epic and tragedy, along with a few obscure but notorious Romans (e.g. Staberius and Arrius in 84–6, the son of the actor Aesopus in 239), in order to diagnose the moral insanity of H. himself. He begins with the building projects that H. has undertaken at his new villa, describing them as a crazed attempt on H.'s part to keep up with Maecenas by doing whatever he does (*quodcumque facit Maecenas*, 312). Dam. then mentions H.'s poetry, his horrible temper, his fancy dress, and his mad passions for young lovers. By this point, fast losing his patience, H. looks for a way out. He refuses to hear any more.¹¹ To make the man (and this poem) stop, H. waves Dam. off as the greater madman (*o maior ... insane*, 326), and that is that. This gives H. the last word, but as in the two poems that precede this one, and as happens again in 2.7, this poem ends abruptly right where it starts to get “too” interesting: at the point where H.'s own life is coming into focus; where his relationship with Maecenas, his personal ambitions, his villa, and the luxurious new life he lives there, are just about to be explored, and his private life exposed to moral scrutiny. For an audience given to expect autobiography in satire, this is an ending that teases but does not satisfy.

1–16 In his opening salvo, Dam. indicates that H. has escaped to the countryside during the Saturnalia, with every good intention of reading classical Greek texts relevant to his unfinished projects, and getting some writing done. But he says that H. has fallen prey to laziness, that he drinks too much, and sleeps his days away.

1 scribis: the second syllable, normally short, is here counted as long (as if extended by the pause of the principal caesura), the first of three such “metrical lengthenings” in the poem; cf. 187 and 260. The speaker’s rugged moral character is thus immediately expressed through his unstudied manner of expression; cf. the metrical license of Stertinius’ first words in 38 (see n.). **toto non quater anno** perhaps evokes mischievous memories of Catul. 23.20 *nec toto decies cacas in anno*. Such is Dam.’s low regard for the poems that H. managed to eke out.

2 membranam: lit. “skin,” i.e. “parchment,” the processed hide of a sheep or goat. For the period in question (c. 30 BCE), consigning a work to parchment implies that it is finished, fully corrected and ready

¹¹ Dam.’s moral characterization of H. in this poem, especially in these last lines, offers a momentary glimpse not of “the man himself,” but of one of the poet’s more famous “lyric” selves; see Freudenburg 2006: 141–7.

for publication. Despite Brink's assertion (*ad Ars* 388-9) that the reference here is "to parchment sheets or notebooks," only for a much later period do we have solid evidence for the use of parchment in drafting and editing, e.g. the *pugillares membranei* of Mart. 14.7. In H.'s day the primary use of parchment was as a protective cover for a finished work; see Fordyce *ad Catul.* 22.7 *lora rubra membranae*. The book itself was normally a papyrus scroll. In some rare (apparently quite extravagant and expensive) cases parchment was used for the scroll itself, sewn together from individual sheets. At S. 1.10.69-72 H. describes the toil of correcting and rewriting in terms that suggest that the material he writes on is a wax writing tablet (*tabella*). On the several kinds of writing materials and their uses in the production of different book types in the ancient world, see Bülow-Jacobsen 2006. **retexens**: the poet's painstaking work in correcting his thoughts and erasing what he has written Dam. regards as a kind of deception and delay, analogous to Penelope's "futile toil" (ἀνήνυτον ἔργον, Plat. *Phd.* 84a) in nightly "unweaving" her tapestry in order to avoid wedding one of her suitors; cf. Cic. *Luc.* 95 *Penelope telam retexens*.

3 benignus: here with the genitives *uini somnique* "(too) liberal with wine and sleep." For the genitive of respect see NLS §73(6), and cf. 65 *integer mentis*.

4 dignum sermone "worth talking about" is calqued from Gk ἀξιόλογος ("worth mentioning"). Here the phrase hints at the *Sermones* that H. has set out to write but has yet to finish ("worthy of *sermo*/satire"). **canas**: within the *quod* clause, the subjunctive designates a "quoted" reason, suggesting that Dam. has heard H. leveling the charge against himself: "enraged because (as you say) you 'sing nothing worthy of talk/satire'." For the subjunctive in causal clauses introduced by *quod*, see NLS §240. On the odd pairing of a verb of singing in this line with a noun that implies "talk," see Freudenburg 2006: 143-4.

4-5 ipsi Saturnalibus "actually during the Saturnalia!" Dam. is stunned. He can think of no better time for a satirist to be in the city preaching against vice. The Saturnalia (see *OCD*⁴ s.v. *Saturnus*, *Saturnalia*) was a raucous mid-December festival honoring Saturn (Gk *Kronos*) through the pretense of his temporary return to heaven's throne (his statue in the Forum was ritually unbound on 17 Dec.). Ancient myths of Saturn told of his being violent and unrestrained in his appetites. Thus Rome's "days of Saturn" were marked by the loosening of certain restrictions on heavy drinking, feasting, gambling, verbal aggression, and the like. This temporary "unbinding" afforded slaves the right to dine with their masters, sometimes even to be served by them, and to speak their minds; cf. Davus exploiting his Saturnalian freedom in poem 7 below (see 7.4 n.). Further on the festival as an important feature of Roman domestic religion, see

Dolansky 2011. **huc**: i.e. to his farm in the Sabine countryside. **sobrius**: emphatic by position. **nil est** “it’s no use” (*OLD* s.v. *nihil* 10).

8 iratis natus paries dis “the wall, born under angry gods.” For the common expression *dis iratis natus*, see Otto s.v. *deus* 9, and Eden *ad Sen. Apoc.* 11.3. The scholiasts assert that writers smeared their walls with wax and used them as notepads. A beaten back-rest of a writing couch signifies stylistic exactitude at Pers. 1.106, where the sloppy neoteric songs that are being sent up are said to require from their poet no banging against the backboard (*nec pluteum caedit*) and no biting of the nails. Whether as an uncooperative notepad or simply the best thing available to hit, here we are to understand that H. has been pounding on the wall of his study as he writes.

9 uultus erat: i.e. when he set out for the country. **minantis**: the poet has the menacing look of an epic warrior “threatening/promising” (= Gk ἀπειλέω) devastation with his sword/pen as he enters the field of battle (see 12 n.). Dam. regrets that the threatened battle has not been engaged. H. uses similar language to describe yet another “promising” visit to his Sabine estate at *Ep.* 1.8.3 *multa et pulchra minantem*. For the multiple Greek overtones of both passages, see Mayer *ad loc.*

10 si “if only” or “as soon as”; cf. *Ep.* 1.7.10 *si bruma niues Albanis illinet agris*. **uacuum**: a predicative adjective (i.e. answering the question “under what circumstances?”; see NLS §88) blending the senses of *OLD* *uacuis* 6b and 10–11: “free from crowds and distractions.” The adjective is more commonly applied to places rather than persons; cf. *Ep.* 1.7.45. For personal uses, see *Carm.* 1.32.1 and above 2.119 n. **cepisset**: the pluperfect subjunctive in virtual *oratio obliqua* (NLS §285, 272.3.d) represents the future perfect indicative of H.’s original boast *si me uacuum tepido ceperit uillula tecto* “once my sweet little villa takes me unoccupied under its warm cover [sc. I will write plenty].” **uillula**: the diminutive form conveys the poet’s longing for his villa, as well as Dam.’s mocking of that longing. On the emotive use of Latin diminutives “connoting affection or contempt” (both seem relevant here), see Coleman 1999: 60. On the villa itself, see 6.1–3 nn.

11–12 Platona ... Archilochos: H.’s *comites* “travel companions” are Greek papyrus scrolls that he has packed into his travel bag with the idea that he will finally get his overdue project(s) finished. The list provides a glimpse into the Greek reading that informs H.’s Latin writing, balancing newer, more restrained and realistic forms (the fourth-century BCE philosophical dialogues of Plato and the new comic plays of Menander) against older, more aggressive and freewheeling forms (the seventh-century BCE iambs of Archilochus and the fifth-century old comic plays of Eupolis). Traditionally the list was taken to refer exclusively to the *Sermones*, but

Cucchiarelli 2001: 168–79 pointed out that the list falls into two meaningful generic pairs, split by the line end: Plato and Menander at the end of 11 referring to the peculiar generic mix of *Sermones* book 2, and Eupolis and Archilochus at the beginning of 12 referring to H.’s iambic *Epodes*. Furthering this argument, see Freudenburg 2006: 147–9, and see also Goh 2016: 66, who suggests that Eupolis can be taken to refer both to the *Sermones* and the *Epodes*. Alternatively, Gowers 2016: 114 suggests that the list can also be read as focused entirely on the *Epodes*. **Platona**: a Greek accusative (= *Platonem*). Without further specification, it should be assumed that the philosopher is meant, not the poet of Greek Middle Comedy. **Menandro**: ablative after *stipare*, “to cram Plato with Menander.” The authors named are “huge” (*comites* ... *tantos*), both in terms of their status as literary giants, and in terms of the sheer amount of the writings they left behind. Dam., who has a special fondness for authors whose works fill entire shelves, finds it both ironic and outrageous that H. has taken these “big” authors along as his models only to eke out a few lines of verse here and there. **educere** “lead out” (sc. “into the country”); see *OLD* s.v. *educere* 1b (of generals advancing their armies) and 2a (of government officials and their entourage).

13 Inuidiam “Envy/Dislike” (here personified). The cause of Envy’s hostility toward H. is unspecified, though his remarkable rise to prominence with Maecenas is cited as a cause of envy at 1.6.45–8 and at 6.48–9 below. For *uirtus* emblemizing the satirist’s just cause, and thus his best defense against envious attacks, see 2.1.70–8 nn. **placare** “placate/appease” puts Envy in the role of an enraged divinity who is determined to destroy the hero (see next n.). **uirtute relicta** “by abandoning virtue,” i.e. by failing to attack vice. The poet’s *uirtus* is likened to a weapon tossed aside in the heat of battle by a cowardly soldier; cf. *Carm.* 2.7.9–11. The line is imitated by Pers. 3.38 *uirtutem uideant intabescantque relicta*.

14 improba “shameless” here has sexual connotations (“wanton,” “seductive”; *OLD improbus* 7).

15–6 parasti “you have bought/procured” picks up on *paras* in 13. As a financial metaphor; cf. 129. Though a convert to philosophy, there is still much of the buyer and seller in Dam; cf. 19 n. **uita meliore** “in a better life,” i.e. while life is good. The assertion that things procured in good times may have to be “given up” (*OLD pono* 1) in bad touches on Dam.’s personal experience in losing all that he had. **aequo animo** “calmly.” The need for mental calm and acceptance of what comes in good times and bad was stressed by all the major philosophical schools; see Harrison *ad Carm.* 2.3.1–2.

17 tonsore: the word is postponed as the punchline of an unexpected joke (“for your kind advice may the gods above give you a ... barber,” i.e.

“a shave”). The joke implies that, being devoted to the Stoic’s “natural” cause, Dam. sports a shaggy beard, and that he could use some cleaning up. For a similar “barber” joke targeting the Stoic *sapiens*, see 1.3.130–4.

18–19 *Ianum ad medium fracta*: ship-like, Dam.’s net worth has “crashed against the middle archway” and, as it were, sunk to the bottom of the sea. The metaphor associates Dam.’s conversion with that of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, whose turn from mercantile pursuits to philosophy was precipitated by the sinking of a ship that he had hired to transport purple goods from Phoenicia to Athens (see poem intro. above). In Dam.’s particular case, the *naufragium* metaphor may hint at the actual cause of his financial demise: a shipload of Greek antiques lost at sea. The moneys for his ill-starred venture were borrowed at the *Ianus Medius*, where money-lenders conducted business on the east side of the Roman forum, near the Basilica Aemilia; see *OLD* s.v. *Ianus* 4 and Richardson 205–6.

19–20 *aliena negotia* “other people’s business.” Dam. persists in viewing all the world’s activities, even H.’s desultory efforts at writing satire, through a businessman’s eyes; cf. 15 n. His eagerness to poke into the affairs of others while neglecting his own pegs him as a πολυπράγμων (“busybody”); on which, see Plut. *Mor.* 516c–517c, and Assman 2005: 37–8. ***excussus*** “dashed/hurled off” continues the shipwreck metaphor; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.115–16.

21 *Sisyphus*: the legendary founder of Corinth, whose footbath must rate as the Holy Grail of Corinthian bronzes. In the outrageous claim we hear the sounds of Dam.’s old sales pitch: “this once belonged to Sisyphus himself”; cf. the “plate worn smooth by Evander’s hands” that is knocked from Maecenas’ table at 1.3.90–1, and cf. Coleman 1988: 175 on the outlandishly eulogized antique bronze statuette of Stat. *Silv.* 4.6. ***uafer*:** cf. Homer’s description of Sisyphus as κέρδιστος at *Il.* 6.153. The Greek term carries a double-sense of “craftiest” and “most profitable” (from κέρδος “gain”) that helps explain Dam.’s allusion to the Homeric epithet here.

22 *scalptum ... fusum*: refer to works “sculpted” in marble and “cast” in bronze respectively. ***durius*** “too stiffly” (*OLD* s.v. *dure* 3), normally negative, here refers to qualities of primitive manufacture that were actively sought out by dealers in antiques. In the parlance of ancient art criticism, the adjective *durus* was commonly used to describe the “wooden” and “unlifelike” qualities of works in the so-called “severe style” of the Greek Archaic Period; see Pollitt 1965: 26–8 and cf. *Inst.* 12.10.1–10, where Quintilian repeatedly figures the history of Greek art as a progression from “hard” effects to “soft.”

23 *huic signo* “this statue here”; for the usage, see 30 n. ***ponebam*** “expend” (*OLD ponere* 14). ***milia centum*** sc. *nummum* “sesterces.”

24 mercarier: the use of the archaic infinitive (= *mercari*) finds Dam. trafficking in antiques of a verbal kind. As a metrical convenience, easily parodied, see Gowers *ad* 1.2.35 *laudari*. In the *Sermones* archaic infinitives in *-ier* are used exclusively by speakers putting on airs to add weight and wonder to their words (cf. Balatro at 8.67 below, see n.). For all cases in H., see Bo, vol. III: 263.

25–6 unde ... compita “that’s why the people crowding the crossroads gave me a Mecurial cognomen,” i.e. “they called me Mercury’s Man.” The auctions where Dam. sold his antiques were held in the crossroads that defined the neighborhoods of Rome; see [Acro] *ad loc.* **Mercuriale:** Mercury was the god of commerce and financial success; see 6.5 n. The MSS support this reading, but Muecke and SB opt for Gyrphius’ emendation *Mercuriali*, which is grammatically more regular. Normally the naming adjective agrees with the person rather than with the word (*cog*) *nomen*, but exceptions are decently attested and unproblematic; see OLS 1271–2, and cf. Gellius’ discussion of this very topic at Gel. 15.29, giving three options: *mihi nomen est Iulius ... mihi nomen est Iulio ... mihi nomen est Iulium*. Dam.’s boast features the metonymical personification of *compita* as the subject of the sentence, and a “Golden Line” structure (a b verb A B) that straddles two lines. With his highly contrived language, Dam. aims to impress upon H. just how revered he once was (a god among men) in his old stomping grounds.

27 purgatum: here c. gen., figures Dam.’s former obsession with money in physiological terms (*OLD purgo* 4), i.e. as an excess of bile that must be “purged” from the body in order to bring its several humors back into their proper balance. Stoic moral philosophers were especially fond of this metaphor likening vice to disease, philosophy to medicine, etc.; see intro. essay and 77–81 nn. In using the figure, H. hits squarely on a topic that is central to Dam.’s training, and that he cannot resist going on and on about.

27–31 miror ... mire: H. expresses his astonishment that a man so completely ravaged by avarice should have ever been cured of his disease, and that he should have swung so far in the opposite direction. According to the simile of line 30, Dam. resembles a comatose patient who has been not so much cured as over-cured: emerging from sleeping sickness, he immediately begins to hurl punches at the doctor who revived him (see next n.). Most editors (e.g. Klinger, Muecke citing Rudd 1966: 297, n. 20) assign lines 27–31 to H., but some (e.g. SB, Fedeli) assign the large central sentence (*atqui ... urget*, 27–30) to Dam. because it features an extended comparison of mental states to physical diseases. But to make Dam. responsible for the central sentence (despite his inordinate fondness for the “disease” analogy) requires us to think him capable of

self-irony (Fedeli *ad loc.*) and/or of regarding his newfound Stoic zeal as a disease. Neither possibility fits him well. The better option is to see H. baiting Dam. with these words, introducing a disease analogy (already set in motion by *purgatum* in the prev. line; see n.) that he knows Dam. will run (on and on) with.

30 hic: the pronomial adjective refers not to a specific person who must be imagined as present, but to an imaginary “this lethargic/listless fellow here” whom we are invited to consider as if present (cf. *huic signo* in 23). Such usage, common in diatribe, lends visual immediacy to the illustration. **lethargicus:** H. imagines Dam.’s conversion from antiques dealer to Stoic zealot as a wild swing from the depths of one disease to its violent opposite. In medical writers the Greek term *lethargicus* (occurring here for the first time in Latin) is used to describe patients who are pathologically “listless,” as well as those who have fallen into a coma and are completely unresponsive (see below 145 n.). The opposite condition is that of the *freneticus*, who is restless and, at times, violently disposed toward those who seek to cure him; cf. Cels. 3.20, Sen. *Constant.* 13.1–2.

31 dum ... huic = *dum ne et tu tundere me incipias* (Porph. *ad loc.*). **o bone:** the tone is condescending; see 2.1 n.

32 insanis ... omnes “you yourself are mad, as are just about all fools.” Stoics held that all men, save the *sapiens*, are fools (*stulti*, ἄφρονες); see Gowers *ad* 1.3.76–7, and cf. 158 below. In a famous paradox they maintained that all fools are mad (the fourth of Cicero’s “Stoic paradoxes” at Cic. *Parad.* 27–32). Here Dam. collapses the two thoughts.

33 si quid ... crepat “if Stertinius drones/yammers true at all.” For the genitive singular adjective used substantively with *quid*, cf. Plaut. *Am.* 636, *Cas.* 628. Dam. apparently intends to say “if he rings true,” i.e. as a silver coin when dropped to test its metal, or a flawless ceramic pot when tapped to test for cracks, both Stoic “testing” metaphors for sounding out unseen imperfections in the soul; see Kissel *ad Pers.* 5. 24–5. But his choice of vocabulary is unfortunate, for when applied to the voice the verb *crepare* normally carries strong negative connotations of incessantly “railing on”; cf. *Ep.* 1.7.84. **Stertinius:** the preacher-hero who called Dam. back to life when he was on the point of suicide. With *crepat*, a word commonly used of loud and unseemly bodily functions, Dam. activates the humorous origins of the philosopher’s name (from *stertere* “snore”), as if to say “if the Snorer snorts true”; see Adams 1982: 49–50. **unde** = *a quo*. **mira** “amazing.” The adjective receives added emphasis by being set at the line-end, anticipating its noun in the middle of the next line (hyperbaton).

34 descripti “I copied down, word-for-word.”

35 sapientem “grow a wise beard,” i.e. “grow the beard of a wise man.” The predicate adjective is displaced from the man to his beard (hypallage).

pascere barbam “feed the beard,” i.e. “to let it grow,” is calqued from Gk πωγωνοτροφεῖν.

36 Fabricio: the bridge, built in 62 BCE, still stands, linking the Tiber Island to the Campus Martius and market district of old Rome; see Richardson 298.

37 male re gesta “after my business went bust.” As a description of financial failure, see *OLD gero* ga, and cf. Plaut. *St.* 402–5.

38 dexter “on my right,” but also implying a quasi-religious epiphany, with Stertinius in the role of the *theos soter* who is “propitious” and “ready to help”; see *OLD dexter* 2a. **stetit** “and there he was!” emphasizes the suddenness of his appearance, rather like that of Dam. himself at the beginning of the poem. **caue:** the shortened final syllable (iambic shortening) replicates conversational usage as well as the loose metrical conventions of Roman comedy; see Lindsay 1894: ch. 3, §44, and Dam.’s first words above (1 n.). **faxis:** the archaic form (= *feceris*; see 6.5 n.), common in Plautus and Terence, is found elsewhere in Latin after the second century BCE only here, at 6.5 below, and at Sil. 15.362. This is the only use of the phrase *caue faxis* outside of Roman comedy, where it is a common colloquial expression (e.g. Plaut. *As.* 256, 625, *Mil.* 1125, 1372, *Truc.* 943, Ter. *Hau.* 187).

39 te quicquam indignum “something you don’t deserve.” As a Stoic, Stertinius does not object to suicide *per se*, but to suicide pursued for the wrong reasons; see Edwards 2007: 98–9. **pudor:** behind Dam.’s drive to kill himself is the shame he feels at having lost his wealth, his career and his social standing as Mercury’s darling. For the Stoics, such things were *adiaphora* (= Lat. *indifferentia*), i.e. matters devoid of moral value that the *sapiens* could take or leave without feeling any joy or remorse; cf. 7.87 n. on Stoic disregard for external matters (*res externae*). On suicide as a response to shame, see Kaster 2005: 41, 62. **malus:** Dam.’s shame is deemed “false” because it is based on conventional beliefs (“false opinion”) rather than reason; see Mayer *ad Ep.* 1.16.24 and *OLD malus* 7d.

40 insanos ... inter ... insanus: a dazzling burst of verbal repetition, alliteration and polyptoton; for versions of the proverbial expression in both Gk and Latin, see Otto s.v. *furere*, and Cic. *S. Rosc.* 33 with Dyck 2010 *ad loc.*

41 primum ... inquiram “first off, let me enquire.” The subsequent question, “what is madness,” elicits a succinct definition (*stultitia*) that derives from Chrysippus; see Lejay 376. After then “proving” that all fools are mad in lines 54–76, Stertinius proceeds to define *stultitia* according to its various kinds: *avaritia* (82–157), *ambitio* (158–223), *luxuria* (224–80), *superstitio* (281–95). The second and third divisions are themselves subdivided into two sections each; see Lejay 356. The approach is relentlessly systematic. Stoic philosophers were especially fond of laying out their

ethical treatises in this way, beginning always with a definition or set of definitions, then following these with one or more series of examples; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.6–7.

42 uerbi: is partitive genitive after *nil* (= *nullum uerbum*); cf. 2.25 n. **pereas quin fortiter** “to keep you from dying a valiant death.”

43 quem ... quemcumque: the indefinite suffix *-cumque* belongs to both pronouns. **malā:** when followed by a word that begins with a double consonant (most common are *st*, *sc*, *sp*, *sq*), the final vowel remains short except when it constitutes the “thesis” (i.e. the rhythmically stressed first half) of the metrical foot; cf. below 296 *mihi Stertinius*, and 1.5.35 *praemiā scribae*.

44 caecum agit “drives recklessly on”; cf. *Epod.* 7.13 with Watson *ad loc.* The image seems to be that of an out-of-control chariot racing at full speed. *caecus* “blind” is commonly used of passions that are “unrestrained” and “out of control,” e.g. Lucr. 3.59. **porticus:** = Gk *stoa*, refers to the “painted stoa” in Athens where Zeno founded the “Stoic” philosophical school (the school derives its name from the building). **Chrysippi:** head (*prostates*) of the Stoa from 232 to 207 BCE. Most famous as the ardent defender of Stoic doctrine against the “heresies” of the Skeptical Academy, he spent the bulk of his career expanding and systematizing the ideas of his predecessors, Zeno and Cleanthes, especially in the demanding areas of logic and dialectic. Very little of his work survives, but Diog. Laert. 7.180 provides insight into his stylistic deficiencies and his remarkable rate of production: “In style he was not successful. In industry he surpassed every one, as the list of his writings shows; for there are more than 705 of them” (Loeb trans.).

45 autumat “doth aver.” The word is darkly archaic and dignified, occurring only here in H., and never in Cicero, Lucretius or Virgil. In his discussion of archaic diction at *Inst.* 8.3.24–30, Quintilian distinguishes between certain archaisms that “make a speech more venerable and awesome” and others that are pretentious and to be avoided because sought out “from the murkiest shadows.” *autumo* figures in his list on the negative side, faulted as “stagey” (*tragicum*). **formula** “rule,” the word’s only use in H. A *formula* was a set of ground rules issued by the praetor to the *iudex* defining the nature and scope of a court case and detailing the procedures to be followed in conducting and judging it. The *exceptiones* were the specific “conditions under which the defendant would be acquitted” (Kinsey 1972: 218). Both the “rule” and its “exceptions” had to be agreed on by all parties before the trial could proceed.

46 excepto sapiente: the wise man is imagined as legally “exempt” (see prev. n.) from the charge of madness. **tenet:** “is binding on,” in a legal sense (*OLD teneo* 21). **nunc accipe:** with a punning antithesis to *excepto*, the case against the rest of humanity is launched; see 2.70 n.

48 siluis “in the woods” (locative abl.).

49 palantes: often describes the aimless roaming of cattle and sheep; cf. Liv. 22.17.5, Paul. *Fest.* p. 245, 3. Taken with *grex* in 44 and the “tail” joke of 53, readers may be cued into thinking of Dam.’s errant fools as so many sheep lost in the woods. The comparison of wisdom to a path that has to be kept to, though most widely attested in Stoic sources, is common to all major branches of ancient philosophy; cf. the Epicurean philosopher’s view from his *templa serena* at Lucr. 2.9–10, *unde queas alios passimque uidere | errare atque uiam palantes quaerere uitae*. Muecke *ad loc.* suggests that H. must have the Lucretian passage in mind here “since the Lucretian *palantes* occurs only here in Horace” and because Ovid uses it only once at *Met.* 15.150, again with strong Lucretian echoes.

51 uariis illudit partibus “(delusion) entices them this way and that,” lit. “from different sides.”

51–3 hoc ... modo: here introduces a “stipulative” substantive clause, i.e. “on the understanding that” or “provided that”; see Bennett 1900, and cf. Plaut. *Truc.* 919, Cato *Agr.* 32.1.

52 nihilo ut sapientior “not at all any wiser.” One of Dam.’s many verbal tics can be heard in his overuse of the uncontracted form of *nihilum*. Of only 8 total instances in all of H. (see Bo, vol. II: 84–5), 5 occur in the inset speech of Stertinius, with 3 of these occurring in the next 4 lines. Especially in its uncontracted form the word is expressive of a mindset utterly unwilling to compromise (“by no means whatsoever!”). For Stoics of a more uncompromising persuasion, e.g. Chrysippus, *sapientia* was possessed in the amounts of all or nothing. More moderate Stoics, such as Panaetius and the younger Seneca, could speak of making headway along wisdom’s path; see Roskam 2005: 37–9.

53 caudam trahat: Porph. *ad loc.* considers two options: (1) taking the phrase as a reference to the legendary stupidity of sheep; and (2) taking it as a reference to a schoolboy’s prank of secretly pinning a tail to someone’s back, thus a way of saying “your accuser is just as crazed and errant as you are, but he does not know it.” Further on the sheep’s legendary stupidity, see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 57.1.

54 timentis “of the one who fears.” The genitive here stands for a relative clause = *est unum genus stultitiae eius qui timeat*.

55 obstare “stand in his way.”

56 alterum: the elision of a middle vowel (a word ending in *-m*) when it is both preceded and followed by a short vowel is rare in classical Latin (e.g. never in Tibullus, twice in all of Ovid, once in Lucan), but occurs five times in this poem (below lines 124, 155, 197, 311); see Müller 247–8 and Nilsson 26.

56 huic uarum “opposite to this one,” lit. “bent” the other way; cf. Pers. 6.18–19 “twins of opposite character” (*geminos ... uaro ... genio*).

57–8 amica mater: Dam. strives to imitate μήτηρ φίλη of *Il.* 1.351, 572, 585, etc., but by splitting the epic formula between lines he leaves us to decide whether he means “his dear mother,” or “his mistress, (and) his mother.” Depending on how we read the phrase, we may be surprised to meet up with the crazed man’s wife at the end of the next line. It is clear from his note *ad loc.* that Porph.’s third-century schoolboys could get a rise out of their poor old professor by making this “mistake,” however much they seem to have been set up to make it.

59 serua “watch out”! The absolute use of the imperative *serua* (with *te* understood) occurs elsewhere only in comedy; see *OLD* s.v. 2a, cf. Plaut. *Per.* 810, *Ter. An.* 416 and *Ad.* 172.

60–1 In the opening scene of Pacuvius’ *Iliona*, the ghost of Deipylus appears on stage and loudly accosts his mother for sleeping while his corpse lies unburied (Deipylus had been killed by his father, Polymestor, the king of Thrace, who mistook him for Polydorus). *Iliona*, the play’s tragic heroine, is supposed to start from sleep and address her son, but in the instance referred to here (presumably infamous, but it is mentioned only by [Acro] in his commentary on these lines) the play’s lead actor, Fufius, drank so much wine that instead of feigning sleep on stage he actually passed out, and the whole audience joined in shouting “mother, wake up!” to revive him. Frequent references to the play’s ghost scene in Cicero’s later works (*Tusc.* 1.106, *Acad. Pr.* 2.27, *Sest.* 59.126) suggest that it was a virtuosio favorite of actors, and that the play was regularly revived; see Beacham 1991: 154–5. On the profound visual impact of the ghost scene (“arguably the most famous scene in Republican tragedy”), see Cowan 2013: 333–8.

61 edormit: Fufius “sleeps off” his part like a drunkard sleeping off a binge.

61–3 Catienis ... clamantibus “although 1,200 Catienuses were yelling at him.” Catienus played the part of the ghost. Here he is helped by 1,200 audience members chiming in to stir Fufius from drunken sleep. “**mater, te appello**” is an exact quote from the play; see Pacuvius *Iliona* fr. 197–201 Ribbeck³ = frs. 205–10W. **huic ego ... errori** “this very error.” The nominative *ego* is not itself emphatic, but serves to emphasize the demonstrative adjective *huic* (the “host”) to which it is metrically attached as an enclitic; see Adams 1994, esp. 110–12, with examples “in which the host is a demonstrative” p. 134. **similem** (sc. *errorem*) functions as a cognate accusative (i.e. regarded as equivalent to *similem insaniam*) after **insanire**: “the common masses rage in a mad error that is similar to this very one”; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.101. **cunctum**: another sweeping generalization (see above 52 n.).

64 emendo: the gerund abl. of means defines the circumstances under which the action of the main verb is realized = “mad in buying.”

65 mentis: gen. of respect after *integer* (“unimpaired of mind,” i.e. “of sound mind”). For the construction, see N–H *ad Carm.* 1.22.1 *integer uitae*, cf. also 3 n. on *benignus*, and 220 *integer animi*. **esto** “all right,” in the sense “let’s go ahead and grant that what’s just been said is true”; see *OLD sum* 8b, and 1.83 n.

66 reddas: the jussive force of the main verb carries over into the characterizing relative clause = “take this sum and don’t bother to pay it back.”

68 reiecta praeda: the abl. abs. here stands for a conditional clause = “if you reject the profit”; see *NLS* §50. **praesens** when used of gods, means “right there (to help),” i.e. “propitious” (= Gk ἐπιφανής); see *OLD* s.v. 3 and Brink *ad Ep.* 2.1.15.

69–71 The passage is conversationally loose. The general sense is: “Fill ten ledger’s worth of loans paid out by Nerius (sc. to an over-extended but crafty borrower). No, that’s not enough! Make it a hundred ledgers of knotty Cicuta; that is, pile on a thousand chains to bind him fast! Even so, the crooked Proteus will break free of these bonds.”

69 scribe “draw up” or “fill out” (*OLD scribo* 10); cf. Var. *L.* 5.183 *in tabulis scribimus expensum*. **decem** is best taken with **tabulas**, postponed to the next line to effect a conversational double-take: “fill out ten ... no, that’s not enough. Make that one hundred tablets.” The tablets in question are the money-lenders’ “ledgers” (*OLD tabula* 7), recording loans paid out by them, to whom, when, under what terms, specifying penalties of late payment, etc. These ledgers could be introduced as evidence in court; see Muecke *ad loc.* The two money-lenders (*faeneratores*) named in the passage are otherwise unknown. They are characterized as experts at writing massive, legally “binding” contracts to safeguard their loans. The passage implies that Nerius was a monster, and Cicuta even worse. With their “ten ledger” loans teaming with legalese and “knotty” fine print (i.e. the twisted “chains” with which to bind their debtors), it is easy to see how the scholiasts came to mistake Nerius and Cicuta for jurisconsults. The scholiasts of Pers. 2.14, trying to match Persius’ Nerius to Horace’s, claim that he was a *faenerator*. **a Nerio** “(loans paid out) by Nerius.” For *ab* indicating the source of a loan, see *OLD ab* 17d. **Cicutae** “Mr. Hemlock,” a loan-shark not to be trifled with. For his identification (highly speculative), see below 75 n.

70 nodosi “knotted” recalls the “knots” of a gnarly old hemlock (*OLD nodosus* 3a), as well as the legal “chains” (*catenas*) that Cicuta plaits together to ensnare his borrowers, i.e. his contracts, crabbedly detailed and “obscure” (*OLD nodosus* 1b–2). The adjective is thus both transferred (hypallage) and descriptive of its grammatical noun at the same time.

71 Proteus: the most elusive of all gods, blessed with prophetic vision and the ability to change his shape. In the two most famous stories told of him, Proteus has the truth wrestled from him by heroes armed with divine stratagems and, in Virgil's account, wielding chains; see Hom. *Od.* 4.398-570 (Menelaus in Egypt), Virg. *G.* 4.418-529 (Aristaeus in Thessaly); cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.90.

72 rapies in ius "you take him to court"; *OLD rapio* 7b, cf. 1.9.77 *rapit in ius*. **malis ridentem alienis** "laughing with borrowed jaws," i.e. "caught red-handed and feigning nonchalance." Elsewhere the phrase occurs only once, in an exact Greek equivalent (γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισιν) at Hom. *Od.* 20.347, where it describes the forced and overplayed laughter of Penelope's suitors just as they are becoming aware of their impending slaughter. The Homeric phrase likens the debtor ensnared by Cicuta's legal "chains" to Homer's suitors who have just been caught after years of squandering someone else's property. But that is as far as the epic analogy goes. Numerous attempts have been made to explain why Cicuta's debtor should be likened to Homer's doomed suitors when he (the debtor) is just about to make his crafty escape; for a review of at least six different solutions to the problem, none completely satisfactory, see Kent 1911b, and for a more recent solution *via* emendation (*ridens* for *ridentem*), see Shackleton Bailey 1985: 164.

Two further possibilities: (1) Rather than taking the quotation as an objective (and strangely inept) assessment of the debtor's condition, the Homeric aside can be read as an abrupt shift into the mindset of the man who has dragged him into court, capturing his momentary glee ("you'll have him in your clutches, trapped and squirming") just before his prey turns Proteus and slips through his fingers. (2) Given the financial context in which it occurs, the Homeric quotation can be taken as a pun upon *aes alienum* ("another's money"), the standard Latin phrase for "borrowed money" or "debt." In other words, by the time the law catches up to the wastrel and he is led away to the courts, the man is so far in debt that even his cheeks are "borrowed" (we would say "up to his cheeks in debt").

73 aper ... arbor: Homer gives two separate descriptions of the transformations of Proteus at *Od.* 4.417-18 and 456-8. Virg. *G.* 4.407-10 (describing Aristaeus grappling with Proteus) combines features of both Homeric passages; see Thomas 1988 *ad loc.* Despite their several differences, in all three passages Proteus first takes the forms of various wild animals (four each in the second Homeric passage and in Virgil), then transforms himself into two features of the natural landscape. Dam.'s list follows the same general pattern, but ends on a decidedly Homeric note, with a tree that references the "towering leafy tree" that concludes the list of Hom. *Od.* 4.458, and constitutes the one most noteworthy omission in

Virgil's list; cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.732–7. Dam.'s is the only list to omit water, and to include a bird. There may be a bad joke lurking in his final image of "Mr. Hemlock" vainly grappling with a tree.

75 Perelli: apparently another money-lender. Porph. *ad* 69, and [Acro] *ad* 74 give the name Perellius Cicuta to Dam.'s chief creditor, which appears to be an inference drawn from the text itself.

76 dictantis: the moneylender "dictates" to a scribe the precise details of a contract that the borrower will then sign. **rescribere** "enter into the books as paid" (*OLD* s.v. 5).

77–82 Stertinus here turns from the specific case of Dam. to that of the crowd that has gathered to hear him rant. He invites them to step forward one at a time (*ordine adite*) to have their "diseases" diagnosed. On Dam.'s lopsided treatment of his subject matter (the five canonical vices of Stoic diatribe), see the poem intro. above.

77 audire ... componere: equivalent to English "get ready/look smart and listen"; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.156, where the orator is urged to spend some time *in componenda toga*, standing up straight, with feet spread slightly apart, etc., before launching into a speech. Muecke points out that Stertinus here sounds like a Plautine *prologus* telling his audience to pipe down and pay attention so that the play can begin; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 3–4.

78 pallet: the miser's moral "disease" shows in the sallow hue of his skin; cf. Pers. 4.47. Although such metaphors equating vice with disease, philosophers with physicians, and so on, are found in writings of all the major philosophical schools since Plato, the Roman Stoics were unusually productive of such metaphors (see the poem intro. above), and they were often highly imaginative in their use; see Lotito 2001: 41–68, Bramble 1974: 34–8; cf. also De Meo 1983: 231–6. On Stoic didactic figured as an unpleasant medical procedure, see Bellandi 1996: 34–8, Reckford 1998.

79 superstitione: this is the sole example in the *Sermones* of a six-syllable word at the line-end. The ungainly cadence is part of a sustained rhythmical type-casting of Dam.: the breathless urgency of his message allows him no time for the usual metrical niceties.

80 calet: the fool's diseased thinking produces a metaphorical fever.

81 ordine: depending on punctuation (a comma is required either before or after *ordine*), Dam. is either saying that he will teach his listeners "in order," i.e. "one by one," that they are mad, or he is urging them to step up, one by one, to have their individual cases diagnosed. While the former (followed by K–H, Palmer, Muecke) has the advantage of assigning only one adverb each to *doceo* and *adite*, it puts a break between two words that are linked via elision and that lend themselves to being read as a separate metrical and sense unit after the bucolic diaeresis. Besides keeping these words together as a discrete sentence cadence, the latter

option (followed by Lejay, Klingner, SB, Fedeli) has the further advantage of painting a lively visual scene of a street preacher (*qua* physician) urging his hearers to step forward one at a time.

82 danda “administer” (*OLD* s.v. gb). **ellebori**: extract of the hellebore plant was used as a cure for madness. The Stoic Chrysippus (above 44 n.) was reputed to have undergone multiple hellebore treatments (Lucian *Ver. hist.* 2.18, *Hermot.* 86) to sharpen his mind and render it unusually alert and inventive; cf. Petr. 88.4. White hellebore (*ueratrum album*) induced vomiting. Black hellebore (*helleborus niger*) was used as a laxative for the purging of black bile (see 27 n.), the excess of which was thought to cause melancholy (μελαγχολία, lit. “black-bile-syndrome” = madness). Here the “biggest portion” of the drug is prescribed to the greedy. The largest portion of the five-part sermon that follows (the drug’s verbal equivalent) is devoted to them as well (lines 82–157).

83 nescio an “I’m inclined to think” (*OLD nescio* 4a). While common in prose, the phrase occurs only here in Roman poetry. The elision of *nescio an* is unusually harsh (producing a “virtual hiatus”; see 155 n.), and the side-by-side placement of words beginning in *an* forces one to stutter in pronunciation (*an Anticyram*; cf. *arbitrio Arri* in 86). **Anticyram ... omnem**: i.e. the region’s entire output of hellebore. The hellebore plant (prev. n.) was grown in Anticyra, a name shared by two hellebore-producing towns in Greece; see Brink *ad Ars* 300.

84–7 The language of these lines is testamentary. Wills and funeral inscriptions survive from ancient Rome in numbers sufficient to suggest that the deceased could in some measure exercise posthumous control over the monies and possessions that they had accumulated in life. Hopkins 1983: 251 points out that “traditionally, it had been impossible in Roman law to bind an heir to use part or all of an inheritance for a particular purpose,” but that legal innovations (including the threat of fines) were developed over time to make it possible for the deceased to force his heirs to abide by (sometimes rigid) conditions of the bequest; cf. *CIL* IX 1618 recording the wishes of the deceased (M. Nasellius Sabinus) that an annual feast be held on his birthday, stipulating that if this condition is not met the monies should be used for a like feast for members of his medical *collegium* and for his freedmen. Similarly Dessau 6468 (further elaborated by *CIL* X 1114) quotes a clause of the deceased’s will (*Kaput ex testamento*) promising annual feasts and distributions of cash on the condition (*ea autem condicione*) that the citizens of Petelia erect a statue in his honor in the upper forum.

While Roman funerary inscriptions often boasted the munificence of the deceased in making provision for public games, feasts, theater productions and so on, in the case of Staberius that same language is used to

describe the penalty that his heirs would have to pay in failing to honor the explicit (and tactless, see next n.) conditions of his will. The full sum of his wealth, Staberius made sure, would be memorialized in one of two ways: either by being written in bold letters on his funeral monument, as instructed, or by being spent to the last penny on the most unforgettable funeral feast of all time, thus exemplifying a kind of munificence that he, a miser, never displayed in life.

84 heredes ... sepulcro “Staberius’ heirs inscribed the sum of the man on his tombstone.” Staberius is otherwise unknown. The word *summam* can be taken as a double-entendre conflating the sum of money that Staberius left behind (*OLD* s.v. 2) with (and as) the “sum of the man” himself, i.e. what he amounted to (*OLD* s.v. 7) as a person. Money being all that he ever cared about, the one sum is synonymous with the other (“here lies \$\$\$\$”). As an explicit condition of Staberius’ will, the monetary sum was inscribed on his tomb; cf. Trimalchio’s tactless epitaph (Petr. 71.12) boasting a net worth of thirty million. *CIL* XI 5400 gives the cash value of the legacy left behind by the deceased, a successful physician, but only after detailing the amount he spent on his freedom, his public office, on statues for Hercules’ temple, and on paving the public roads.

85–6 dare ... damnati “they were obliged (sc. under the terms of the will, *OLD* *damno* 7) to put on (as penalty).” For *dare* meaning “to put on” a public entertainment, see *OLD* *do* 5. **gladiatorum ... centum**: the number is remarkably large. In 22 BCE Augustus put a limit of 120 gladiators (presumably 60 pairs) on the praetors who administered the public *munera* (Dio 54.2.4), and Liv. 31.50 mentions 25 pairs as an impressively large number for the funeral games of M. Valerius Laevinus in 200 BCE; see Kissel on Persius’ imitation of these lines at Pers. 6.48 *ducis centum paria*, estimating the cost of 100 gladiatorial pairs at roughly 300,000 sesterces. **atque ... Arri** “as well as a banquet at Arrius’ discretion,” i.e. conforming to whatever standards Arrius should set. Rich Roman benefactors often made provisions for annual public feasts (*epula*) in their wills (see examples cited in 84–7 above), but they did so as acts of kindness rather than (as here) a means of controlling and punishing their heirs. **arbitrio**: third-party arbiters, analogous to modern-day executors (*OLD* *arbitrium* 1b), were sometimes appointed to make sure that heirs did not skimp on the funeral. In some cases the arbiter is named on the monument itself, e.g. *CIL* I 1199. Further on the *arbiter sepulcri*, see below 5.104 n. **Arri: Q.** Arrius, a notorious free-spender and one of Rome’s wealthiest citizens in the waning days of the Republic; see Cic. *Brut.* 242. In 59 BCE Arrius staged magnificent *ludi funebres* to honor his late father. Cic. *Vat.* 30–2 mentions that these festivities included gladiatorial shows and a lavishly trimmed banquet served to guests numbering “many thousands.” Lines

243–6 below suggest that Arrius' heirs inherited his penchant for lavish spending.

87–103 Scholars have long been divided over how to assign the conversational roles of these lines, interspersed as they are with random interjections and unassigned snippets of thought, and all originally scripted by H. without the benefit of quotation marks. For the main difficulties, along with numerous suggested solutions, see the cluttered *apparatus criticus* of Bo's text, esp. at line 88. To grapple with these issues, one must understand that written diatribe normally omits the standard verbal asides (such as *inquit*, *ait*, *ipse dixit*, and so on) that were used as virtual quotation marks in Latin to signal a change of speakers. Within the fiction of this poem, Dam. is quoting not just the contents of a speech that he once heard Stertinus deliver, he is reperforming that speech along with all the random interjections that were tossed in to disturb its continuous flow. These interruptions can be taken either as words hurled at the speaker from a crowd of bystanders, some issuing perhaps from Dam. himself, or they can be understood as the "mock" interjections that are a standard feature of diatribe, i.e. issuing from fictive opponents who are conveniently tossed in to say silly and obvious things by the speaker himself.

87–8 frumenti ... Africa: comic hyperbole, equivalent to English "all the tea in China"; cf. *Carm.* 3.16.26 *quidquid arat impiger Apulus*. The province of Africa (covering roughly the territory of modern Tunisia) was famous for its agricultural wealth, as well as for the vast size of its estates; see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.16.31, *OCD*³ 34, cf. Liv. 31.50.1. The clause stipulates a grain distribution in addition to the gladiatorial *munera* and the public banquet. It is added without a connective (asyndeton), perhaps to mimic inscriptional practice or testamentary language; cf. *CIL* I 1199 *munus gladiatorium cenam colonis Senuisanis et Papiéis*. The inscription stipulates the distribution of foodstuffs (*frumentatio*) in addition to the funeral meal itself. "**siue ... mihi**" "whether I'm right or wrong to want this, don't you play uncle to me"! Staberius warns his heir (here singular) to do precisely what he has been told without scolding or stinting. Lejay *ad loc.* takes the warning as a stipulation of Staberius' will, but most commentators regard it as an imaginary response, i.e. what Staberius would say in response to his heir's objections, were he still alive. In the event of a father's death, it was the young man's paternal uncle (his *patruus*) who would take charge of his finances, education and moral welfare; see Bettini 1991: 14–38. Thus the relation of uncle to nephew as it appears on the Roman comic stage is commonly that of a chiding tightwad to wastrel youth. **sis:** simple prohibitions using the present subjunctive with *ne* are rare in the Augustan poets, but common in early Latin, especially comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Men* 250 *molestus ne sis*; see Handford 1947: 47–8, and K–S, vol. I: 187–9. Persius uses the

construction with great regularity, and he imitates this line in particular at 3.96 *ne sis mihi tutor*; see Lee and Barr 1987: 112.

89 hoc ... uidisse: means either he “saw this” (sc. his heir’s objection) or “saw to this” (*OLD uideo* 18a, 19), i.e. the tactless inscribing of his tomb. In either case, Staberius is judged prescient in “foreseeing” (*prudenter* contr. from *prouidentem*) a way to get the sum of his fortune inscribed on his tomb despite his heir’s reluctance.

91 quoad: scan as one syllable. This is the sole use of *quoad* in H., as well as the only instance of the coalescence (synizesis) of *oa*; see Bo, vol. III: 81–2. Elsewhere in first-century poetry the word occurs four times in Lucretius (always contracted), never in Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, Propertius or Tibullus; see Lejay *ad loc.*

92–4 ut ... nequior “such that, were he to have died just one penny poorer, he would think himself that much more depraved.” Many eds. read *periret* for *perisset*. Both have decent MS authority, *perisset* slightly better (see Schütz). Wickham follows Bentley in defending the pluperfect subjunctive as a case of virtual *oratio obliqua* in a past sequence, i.e. *perisset* represents *perierit* (fut. perf.) of Staberius’ original thought (“if I die a penny poorer, I’ll look that much more depraved”). **quadrante:** a coin valued at one-fourth of an *as*, nearly worthless. **nequior:** because poverty is not a sad misfortune in Staberius’ system of values, but a monstrous vice, he counts himself not simply “poorer” for losing a penny, but “more depraved.”

94–6 The interjection quoted in these lines (a quote within a quote, see 87–103 n.) reverses the poles of a standard maxim that put the gods, virtue, or some higher power in charge of all human endeavors; cf. Sal. *Cat.* 2.7, Man. 1.479. The miser’s punning reversal of the maxim puts a quasi-divine “Wealth” (*Diuitiis*) in control of all, even over things of the gods (*diuina*). **pulchris** puts us momentarily into the mindset of a miser who worships his “gorgeous” money. For the adjective used to describe “propitious” gods, with special attention to these lines, see Monteil 1964: 79–80. The line-end that separates *pulchris* from *Diuitiis* provides a final pause before the punch-line (“gorgeous/propitious ... Money!”). **construxerit** “piled up,” a reference to the miser’s proverbial pile; cf. 1.1.44 *constructus aceruus*, and 108–19 n.

97–8 clarus ... fortis, iustus: the shade of Staberius rattles off the standard catalogue of Roman civic virtues, such as one might find on a funeral inscription; cf. below 5.102 (see n.). A famous example is *CIL* I⁶.7, the saturnian *elogium* of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (cos. 298 BCE) *FORTIS VIR SAPIENSQVE | QVOIVS FORMA VIRTUTEI PARISVMA FVIT*. Given Staberius’ mindset (“wealth = virtue”), he had only to have the numerical sum of his wealth inscribed on his tomb to indicate the

sum of his virtues. “**sapiensne?**” “and is he a wise man as well?” The fictive (because dead) Staberius either poses the question to himself, or his interlocutor interrupts him. Both *sapiensne* and *sapiensque* have good MS support. [Acro] attests to *sapiensne*.

For Staberius, wisdom is just one of so many items stuffed into a rich man’s shopping bag, an economic commodity, so he does not flinch at insisting that the rich man “is a king and whatever else he wants to be.” His response turns the sixth Stoic paradox (*solum sapientem esse diuitem*) on its head, for it is invariably the wise man who is said to be rich, free, a king, etc., as at *Ep.* 1.1.106–7. For earlier satiric contortions of the Stoic paradox, see *S.* 1.3.124–5, Lucil. fr. 1189–90W = 1225–6M, and esp. Var. *Men.* 245 where, as here, the perfected Stoic is derided as mad.

98 hoc: his success at piling up money. **paratum** “procured/bought” (*OLD* s.v. *paro* 3, 4). The joking implication seems to be that Staberius “purchased” the fame to which his epitaph refers, but not the old-fashioned way, “with virtue,” but “in cash.”

99 quid simile (sc. *fecit*) implies the answer “nothing at all”; cf. Cic. *Mil.* 38. **isti** (sc. *Staberio*) is spoken with contempt.

100 Graecus looks ahead to *in media ... Libya* in the next line, as an indication of the philosopher’s famous travels far from home. Aristippus was a student of Socrates who founded the so-called Cyrenaic school of philosophy. Not averse to the worldly pleasures, he charged exorbitant sums for his teaching. He traveled widely throughout the Mediterranean, and eventually ended his life in Cyrene; see K–H *ad loc.* He is routinely described in Stoic sources as the enemy of virtue. The story of his lightening his load in the desert by disposing of his gold (see Diog. Laert. 2.77) shows him adapting without anxiety to whatever circumstances he happened to confront.

101 irent: the subjunctive indicates that this was the reason that Aristippus himself gave for issuing his order.

103 nil agit ... resouit “an illustration that settles one dispute by means of another accomplishes nothing.” For *exemplum* meaning an illustration offered in proof, see *OLD* s.v. 2b. The legal aphorism of this line, still much quoted in modern books of law, is here used to suggest that Aristippus’ free-handed disposal of his money is not a reasonable alternative to the greed of Staberius.

104 emat ... emptas “he buys ... and once bought.” The verb is repeated by “participial resumption”; see Wills 313–15. Wills’ list shows that, of only five instances of the device in H., two are assigned to Damasippus (see also 133–4), and a third to Nasidienus (8.48). Here it is coupled with a second, interlocking repetition, also unusual: set between the verb and the participle that repeats it is *citharas*, itself repeated by *citharae* (polyptoton)

in the matching position in the next line; see Wills 389. Such a concentration of figurative devices (cf. the polyptoton of *litem ... lite* in the prev. line), along with a proliferation of examples (lyres, tools, sails) and sonic effects, finds Dam. making a grand spectacle of his command (or is it his overuse?) of the devices of high didactic.

The standard version of the “lyre” exemplum has nothing to do with greed or madness; cf. Arr. *Epict. diss.* 4.8.16 and Var. *R.* 2.1.3, where the point is simply that to buy a lyre does not make one a lyre-player, let alone a virtuoso. Only here does the lyre-purchaser become a mad collector, owning not just one instrument, but hoarding them in piles (*comportet in unum*). By adjusting the motif in this way, Dam. produces a portrayal, outlandish by design, of a man whose madness is beyond question (107–8), but who resembles in certain particulars the very misers to whom he is about to be compared, thus to prove them all equally mad.

105 nec ... deditus “though not devoted.” The participle (so, too, *auersus* in 107) takes its concessive sense from its context; see NLS §92.

106 scalpra “skiving blades” (used for shaving and contouring leather). **formas** “lasts,” i.e. the forms around which shoes are moulded; *OLD* s.v. 16b. Both items are specialty tools of a cobbler. **non sutor** “a non-cobbler,” *OLD* *non* 7. Dam. reaches for a learned, “technical” resonance: this use of *non* with a noun designating a person according to his status or profession is modeled on Greek usage. Its use in Latin is limited primarily to technical treatises of rhetoric, grammar and philosophy; see L–H–S 452, and Reinhardt and Winterbottom 2006 *ad Quint. Inst.* 2.15.17.

107 mercaturis “commercial ventures.” The form is dative according to *OLD* *auersus* 6, but a case for the ablative (= *a mercaturis* in prose) is made by N–H *ad Carm.* 2.4.19 *lucro auersam*. The *mercator* is a maritime trader.

108 qui “how”; *OLD* *qui* 1. To introduce an immediate conversational tone into his *Sermones*, H. begins *S.* 1.1 *qui fit, Maecenas*. The form does not occur in the *Epodes* or *Odes*. Five of only ten occurrences in the *Sermones* are found in Dam.’s speech (108, 241, 260, 275, 311); see Lejay *ad S.* 1.1, and Mayer *ad Ep.* 1.6.42. **istis**: dat. after *discrepat* “differ from.”

108–19 Examples of three mad collectors are followed by three much more elaborately drawn illustrations of extreme miserly behavior. Although these illustrations are reminiscent of scenes painted in the diatribe satires of *S.* 1 (1–3), the style here is much looser, with exempla stacked one on top of another, pile-fashion. While greedy hoarders were standard targets of popular sermonizing, the particular vividness of their portrayal here points to the visual humor of the Roman comic stage. Herter 1950 suggested that the image of Euclio, star of Plautus’ *Aulularia*, stands behind the miser of 1.1.70–3, where an *avarus* sleeps atop his money-bags, guarding his *saccis* as if they were *sacris* (a pun hard to render in

English). Here the miser is stretched out beside his pile, wielding a long stick (*porrectus ... cum longo fuste*), possibly referring to another sight gag of the comic stage. Further on the comic background of the several *avarus* figures of S. 1.1, see Delignon 2006: 276–8, 289–90, and Mader 2014 *passim*, esp. p. 436.

112 illinc “from that pile.”

113 dominus: ironic (= *quamuis dominus*).

114 ac potius ... uescatur “but instead he dines on.” For *atque, ac* in this adversative sense, see *OLD* s.v. 9.

115–16 positus ... mille cadis: the long separation of epithet from noun (hyperbaton) is the drumroll that sets us up to expect something big. Immediately Dam. throws his impressive “thousand casks” figure aside with *nihil est* “that’s nothing” (*OLD nihil* 8a), and he raises it to a comically overblown 300 thousand. The line recalls a famous image of avarice painted by Lucilius at fr. 581–2W = 555–6M; see Fiske 1920: 235.

Chian and Falernian were, respectively, the finest Greek and Italian wines, the one exceptionally smooth and sweet, the other robust and dry; see 8.15–16 nn.

117 age si et “look, what if one actually...” The colloquial phrase is typical of rhetorical argument (*OLD ago* 24). Alliteration and internal rhymes highlight the contrast between *stramentis* “straw” and *stragula uestis* “bed-sheets” in the next line.

117–18 unde-|octoginta “seventy-nine” (*unde* = *unus de* “one short of”). The unwieldy antique word, consisting of six consecutive long syllables, is extended even further by being split across two lines. The effect is highly portentous; see Rudd *ad Ep.* 2.2.93–4.

118 natus: with acc. *annos* (extent in time) has the sense “to be so many years old.”

119 blattarum ac tinearum epulae “feasts for worms and moths.” A high-sounding phrase reminiscent of Hom. *Il.* 1.4–5 “prey for dogs and birds.”

120 nimirum insanus paucis uideatur “no doubt he’d seem insane – to a few.” The conclusion is sarcastic. Given that he has been ascending into ever more absurd and extreme pictures of avarice, one expects Dam. to conclude (as he did in 107–8, and as he begins to do here with *nimirum insanus*, an idea momentarily set off as self-standing by the pause at the principal caesura) by saying that *everyone* would think such misers insane. Yet after the pause he bids a hasty retreat with *paucis*, for his core argument, that all men are insane save the *sapiens*, will not allow for the expected conclusion. For if all men are mad, then the average Quintus in the street cannot reliably judge the sanity of others. This is one of the more interesting problems raised by the Stoic paradox, “all foolish men

are mad”; cf. Var. *Men.* 148 *insanis sani et furiosi uidentur esse insani. eo quod* “for the reason that” = “because.”

121 morbo iactatur eodem: to toss and turn (in bed) was a sign of grave sickness; cf. Cic. *Catil.* 1.31. Varro’s *Eumenides* (see prev. n.) seems to have featured a philosopher preaching Dam.’s “all fools are mad” message in curiously similar language; cf. esp. Var. *Men.* 126 “finally how is the greedy man sane (*qui sanus sit auarus*)? Let’s say that he is given the whole world as his inheritance. Because he remains out of his mind, still goaded by the same disease (*morbo stimulatus eodem*), he’ll beg and bully himself for a bit of cash.”

122 etiam: modifies *libertus* “so that your son – or actually your freed slave might drink these riches dry (sc. once they pass to him) as heir.” For an obscene reprisal of this passage, see Pers. 6.69–74 (with 125 n.); cf. also *Ep.* 2.2.190–9 where H. proposes to spend modestly on himself rather than obsess over keeping his “modest pile” intact for a greedy heir. On the topos of spending on oneself rather than saving for a spendthrift heir, see Harrison *ad Carm.* 2.14.25. *haec* is direct object of both *ebibat* and *custodis*.

123 dis inimice senex “you god-forsaken old man!” With the sudden turn from third-person description to direct address, Dam. scolds the miser (who is a colorful fiction of his own making) as if he were right there in front of him, tossing on a worm-infested bed. **ne tibi desit?** “so you won’t run out?” Coming (as we are to suppose) from a fabulously wealthy 79-year-old, the objection is absurd.

124 quantulum ... summae “what little bit of the entire sum”? For the meter see 56 n. **curtabit** “snip off.” In poetry the verb is otherwise found only at Pers. 6.33–4 imitating this passage.

125 ungere si caules oleo meliore: Roman satirists use the image of a moderately dressed cabbage salad as a moral shorthand for contentment and properly limited desires; cf. the modest country meal of greens dressed with bacon fat at 6.64, and the miser’s taking charge of dressing the cabbage-stalks with oil at 2.62. At Pers. 6.68–9 (see above 122 n.) the parsimonious old man sees the folly of sparing himself in favor of his spendthrift heir and exclaims *nunc nunc impensius ungue, | ungue, puer, caules. caputque:* scented oils were used for washing, perfuming and hair-grooming.

126 porrigine “dandruff,” “scurf.”

127 si quiduis satis est “if anything whatever is enough.” For *quiduis* meaning a small amount, cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 750. The philosophical idea alluded to is that of S.1.1: contentment and moral probity are achieved by limiting one’s desires to “what is enough” (*quod satis est*).

128–41 Credibility and attention to verisimilitude are thrown to the winds in these lines as each new pique of disgust is quickly outdone by

something even worse. Shifting from a stock comic manifestation of madness (on stone-throwing, see next n.) to a famous tragic one (133 n.), the escalating series of illustrations is capped by the image of a miser so depraved that he murders his wife and mother for cash. The disheveled argument, much of which is sarcastic, proceeds roughly as follows: “Now of course everyone will think you insane if you start stoning people in the streets, or killing your own slaves. Those slaves cost you good money after all. But if you kill your dear wife with a noose and your mother with poison you’ll be judged perfectly sane. How come? Because you’re not like some tragic stage character who kills his own mother in broad daylight, launching yourself at her with a sword. Still, that old story about Orestes is all wrong. Everyone assumes that he went crazy only after he killed her, but he was out of his mind from the start. Think about it: it was only after he did the deed and the Furies attacked him that he started to act sanely. At that point he kept his hands to himself and didn’t hurt a fly”!

128 populum “people in the streets” or “passers-by,” as at 1.1.65–6. **caedere saxis**: stone-throwing was a proverbial sign of madness, as well as a stock theme and sight gag of the comic stage; see 7.116 n., Hunter 1983 *ad* Eubulus fr. 94.10, Men. *Dys.* 82–4.

129 pararis: contracted form of *paraueris* (pf. subj.). Dam. momentarily appeals to the miser’s own values by having him consider the financial loss suffered by the madman who murders his own slaves.

130 insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae “all the boys and girls would cry out that you are insane.” The alliterative phrase implies that “everyone, right down to the most naïve and unschooled members of the crowd” can see that such behavior is insane; cf. 1.1.85, Var. *Men.* fr. 146.

132 incolumi capite es “your head is unimpaired” is best taken as a sarcastic statement of fact, i.e. a commentary on the grim state of affairs at Rome, rather than a question. The phrase carries a legal connotation, suggesting that the murderer gets off scot free in a court of law, i.e. he retains both his “life” (*OLD caput* 5) and his “civil rights” (*OLD caput* 6). For *incolumis* meaning “found not guilty” in a court of law, cf. 1.4.98. **quid enim**: as at 1.1.7, the interjected “how come?” introduces a set of reasons that confirm a prior sarcastic/delusional statement; see *OLD quis* 14c. **Argis**: locative. In mythology Argos was the most powerful city of the Peloponnese, ruled by Agamemnon, leader of the Greeks at Troy. Upon his return from the Trojan war, Agamemnon was murdered by his wife, helped by her lover, Aegisthus. To avenge his father’s murder, Orestes must kill not only Aegisthus, but his own mother.

133 ferro: i.e. in contrast to the subtler means of strangulation and poison mentioned two lines above. **genetricem**: the grand, tragic term occurs only here in H. Most Romans would have known the story of Orestes’

madness not from books, but from the tragic stage. Famous versions of the myth were produced at Athens in the fifth century BCE by Aeschylus (the *Oresteia* trilogy) and Euripides (the *Orestes*). While the Euripidean version was “well known among readers and devotees of the theatre in Roman times” (Wright 2008: 16), Roman audiences would have been most familiar with Ennius’ *Eumenides*, a frequently staged classic of the Roman theater. *Orestes* was rivaled only by Pentheus (see 303 n.) as a madman *par excellence* of the ancient tragic stage; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.469–71, where Dido’s fury is likened to the madness of Pentheus and Orestes. Orestes’ myth leaves no doubt that his mother’s murder is the cause of his madness: after killing her he is immediately attacked by demons (known as the Furies or Eumenides) seeking to avenge her death. But with the phrase *occisa insanisse parente* “acted crazily after his mother was killed” Dam. aims to re-open the question of cause and effect. The proximity of *parente* to *occisa* reminds us that Orestes is a *parricida*.

134 The line features an “attenuated” caesura, i.e. a slight pause after the *in-* of *insanisse*. There are only two such cases in the *Sermones* where the invisible seam that separates the parts of a compound word provides (because it is the only thing available to do so) the main metrical pause in an otherwise caesura-less line. The other occurrence is at line 181 below (see 176–81 nn.); cf. Nilsson 47–8.

135–6 *dementem* is proleptic (L–H–S 413–14): “and that he was not driven mad by hostile Furies before he warmed his sharp sword in his mother’s throat?” The weapon warmed by the victim’s blood is an epic touch; cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.333, Virg. *Aen.* 9.418–19.

137 *quin, ex quo* “on the contrary, from the very moment when.” *male tutae mentis* “of unsafe mind”; see *OLD tutus* 1d and *male* 6.

138 *nil sane* “absolutely nothing” (*OLD sane* 4b). Given the context, one hears a play on words (“nothing sanely”).

139–40 Orestes was helped by his loyal friend, Pylades, and his sister, Electra.

141 *splendida bilis* “glistening bile” refers to black bile, here used as a metonym for the rage it was thought to effect; cf. Galen 7.245 Kühn where “black bile that glistens more brightly than the blood itself, like tar from the Dead Sea” is a symptom of “overheated blood.” According to [Aristotle] *Pr.* 30.1 both men who are despondent, as well as those who commit murder in a frenzied state, suffer from an excess of black bile. What causes their melancholy to express itself so differently is the bile’s temperature: the murderer’s bile boils hot, while the despondent man’s is cold. Further on *atra bilis* “black bile” (Gk μελαγχολία) as a cause of madness or depression, see above 82 n.; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 94.17. See also Kissel

ad Pers. 3.8 *uitrea bilis* “glassy (i.e. translucent/shining) bile,” Watson *ad Epod.* 11.15–16.

142 pauper Opimius “Poor Mr. Rich-ton.” The name *Opimius* brings with it suggestions of opulence (*ops*, *opimus*) and an especially fine vintage of Falernian wine (*uinum Opimianum*, dated to the consulship of Lucius Opimius in 121 BCE), but here the name is paradoxically coupled to notions of extreme stinginess and wretched wine. Normally the genitive after *pauper* designates something in scant supply, as at *Carm.* 3.30.11. But here the point is not that Opimius has too little wealth, but that he is “poor in his riches.” The paradox of the “poor rich man,” a commonplace of ancient moral sermonizing, was a special favorite of the Younger Seneca; see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.16.28, Sen. *Her. F.* 168. On the exceptional merits of “Opimian” wine, see Cic. *Brut.* 287–8 and Plin. *Nat.* 14.125.

143 Veientanum: sc. *uinum*. Veii, Rome’s nearest Etruscan neighbor to the north, fell victim to Rome as an early imperial conquest in 396 BCE. The abominable red wine produced by the fallen city would be her lasting revenge; cf. Porph. *pessimum uinum in Veiento nascitur*, an assessment supported by Pers. 5.147–8 and Mart. 1.103.9. On festival days as occasions for serving exceptional wines (rather than bad ones), cf. *Epod.* 9.1.

144 Campana: Campania is the larger coastal region of southwest Italy that envelops the bay of Naples (see Map 2). The region had long been associated with luxurious, Greek-style consumption and glamour. Here the adjective is balanced against the much more local and mundane *Veientanum* in the previous line. Both adjectives are emphatic by position and lingered over in pronunciation as an impressive series of long syllables. **trulla** “ladle.” The delayed noun comes as a surprise (*paraprosdokian*), the joke being that it was the wine of Campania, not its ladles, that was *crème de la crème*: as if to say, “the only thing ‘Campanian’ about Opimius’ wine was the ladle he used to serve it.” Capua, the chief city in the region, was famous for the manufacture of bronze vessels, buckets and ladles used for the production of wine and olive oil; see Frederiksen 1984: 297–8, and cf. Cato *Agr.* 135. **profestis** “on ordinary days,” is balanced against *festis diebus* in the previous line.

145 Like the man it describes, the line is metrically lethargic, neatly matching rhythm to sense. By producing a diaeresis between the first two feet, *quondam* radically slows the rhythmic flow of the verse. On the “stark retardierendes Moment” produced by a first-foot spondee, see Norden 1903: 435. **lethargo grandi** “a deep coma” recalls Lucr. 3.465 *gravi lethargo* to suggest that Opimius is beyond reviving. In the Lucretian scenario, after the demented man has fallen into a coma, his relatives surround him in tears and loudly urge him to wake up, but he can neither see

nor hear them (467–9). In Opimius' case, the heir runs leaping for joy around his cash-box. Although the phrase *lethargo grandi* would seem to have put Opimius beyond reviving, he actually wakes up when stirred by the sounds not of relatives mourning, but of coins clinking. For *grandis* applied to physical conditions, see *OLD* s.v. 4a. For the medical condition of lethargy, see above 30 n. and 161 n. below, Kenney *ad* Lucr. 3.465, and Cels. 3.20.1–6. H. uses the Greek term *lethargus* only here. Elsewhere he refers to the condition by one of its Latin names: *ueternus*, *languor*, *torpor*.

146–7 circum loculos ... ovans ... curreret: the vivid language suggests that the heir is running celebratory “victory laps,” as would a winning charioteer in the Circus Maximus. On victory laps in the Circus Maximus, see Bell 2014: 495 and Cameron 1973: 42–9.

146 iam “already,” i.e. even before the sick man has died.

147 multum: adverbial (*OLD* *multum*² 2), here strengthening the adjectives *celer* and *fidelis*. Such usage is colloquial, and while fairly common in H., it is elsewhere confined to participles and words expressing similarity or difference, as at 1.3.57 *multum demissus homo*; cf. *Ep.* 1.10.3, with Mayer *ad loc.*, and the difficult case of *Carm.* 1.25.5, with N–H *ad loc.*

149–50 accedere plures | ad numerandum “that a fairly sizeable group should draw near to count (the coins).” The point of the substantive *plures* is to indicate that not just one or two people, but “rather a lot,” i.e. a small crowd, is needed to count Opimius' massive pile of cash; cf. 1.6.101. For the accusative of the gerund after *ad* to denote purpose, see A–G §506. **illud** “the following”; *OLD* *ille* 13a.

152 “men uiuo?” “while I live?” i.e. “even though I’m still alive?” In his weakness, the man can barely speak. In the course of the dialogue of lines 151–6 he manages to eke out only four two-word sentences (totaling 11 syllables). But then he hears what he considers to be the outlandish price of his salvation (a few pennies) and he somehow finds the strength (lines 156–7) to burst out and berate his doctor as a thief. **“ut uiuas igitur, uigila”** “wake up, then, so that you may go on living” (*OLD* *uiuo* 5). **“hoc age”** “Snap to it! Come on!” The exhortation *hoc age* (lit. “do this” in the sense “get moving”) is common in Plautus; cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 747–8.

153–4 ni ... ruenti “unless a huge buttress of food is put into your collapsing stomach.” The tone is pompous and overdone. For the elaborate syntactical shape of line 154, see West 1969: 118. **uenae:** the veins were thought to distribute food and wine throughout the body; see *OLD* *uena* 2a, and Muecke *ad* 2.4.25. **fultura:** the physician strays into the language of a structural engineer. While the verb *fulcire* “to prop up” was commonly used of bodily sustenance (see *OLD* *fulcio* 3; cf. esp. Sen. *Ep.* 95.22, and 68.7) the noun *fultura* elsewhere in Latin literature never has the sense that it has here. In fact, this is one of only two known metaphorical uses

of the term (the other, much later, at Plin. *Ep.* 1.9.4). In all other cases the noun refers to an actual physical prop or buttress, or to the act of buttressing some physical structure that threatens to fall, such as a crumbling wall. The doctor's use of the term thus strikes a strange note, perhaps to suggest that he is overreaching in his attempts to sound erudite. For the comic potentials of the "propped stomach" idea, cf. Pl. *Cur.* 367, where the parasite describes the various foods he craves as *uentris stabilimenta*. Lucr. 2.1144-8 features a similar strange mix of bodily and structural-engineering metaphors to describe the imminent collapse of the universe in its old age.

155 tu cessas? "are you holding back"? is spoken in stunned disbelief ("what are you waiting for"? trans. Rudd). **tisanarium:** the diminutive of Gk *πιτσάνη*, a thin gruel made from husked grains. By using the diminutive form (otherwise unattested, and best regarded as a coinage) the physician is enticing the sick Opimius, as one would a child, with a "wee little bit" of mashed rice. The elisional hiatus that opens between *tisanarium* and *oryzae* (i.e. the clash of the vowels *i* and *o* that remains after the elision of *-um* [*tisanari(um) oryzae*]; cf. 83 n. above) finds the physician holding his mouth open in a nice rounded "O" as he urges his patient to "open wide." On the strange preponderance of elisional hiatus in this poem, see Nilsson 17-19, and Freudenburg 1996: 201. For boiled rice (*ὀρύζη*) as a food commonly prescribed to "restrain the stomach," see Galen *De Alimentorum Facultatibus* 1.17, Koch and Helmreich 1923: 243. For Galen's short treatise *De Ptisana*, see Koch and Helmreich 1923: 455-63.

156 quanti "for how much," genitive of cost, answered by **paruo** "for a little," ablative of the price paid; G-L §§380 and 404. **octussibus** "for eight asses" is a colloquial contraction of *octo assibus*, a minuscule sum.

158 quisnam igitur sanus? "who then is sane"? Having delivered the punch-line of his Opimius story, Dam. poses a summary question to himself, as if a conclusive answer were now close at hand. There is no reason to take these words as a sudden interjection by an unnamed interlocutor, since Dam. requires no actual prompting to keep prattling ahead. For a similar use of self-interrogation as an abrupt transitional device, see below 7.83.

158-62 The logic of these lines, which serve as a transition to the topic of *ambitio*, is hard to work out. Dam.'s conclusion that the sane man is *qui non stultus* comes out of the blue: not once in the disquisition that precedes and leads up to this conclusion does Dam. argue that the core problem behind *avaritia*, and the category to which it belongs, is *stultitia*. Adding further to the confusion of these lines is Dam.'s unorthodox use of negatives ("not-being something") to define the larger category to which the sane man ("being something") belongs, as well as his careless

use of the word “to be,” which he uses sometimes to identify, sometimes to categorize. By saying that the sane man is a “non-fool” (rather than a *sapiens*, an “identifying” use of *esse*), Dam. would have us conclude that any non-fool is also necessarily sane. Then upon wondering aloud (see prev. n.) whether it works the same way for someone who is non-greedy (*si quis non sit avarus*), Dam. says that such a man is not necessarily sane because “not greedy” (i.e. “not-being something”) is merely one specification within the larger genus of the “sane” (“being something”), just as “sick” (*aeger*) is the larger category to which the *cardiacus* (see 161 n.) belongs. For the Stoics’ elaborate systems for dividing *genera* into their *species* (διαίρεσις), something Dam. attempts to do here, see Diog. Laert. 7.61, and Moatti 2015: 248–9.

160 continuo sanus? “is he then automatically sane”? (*OLD continuo* 2). **dicam:** the tone is oracular; see Fedeli *ad loc.* and next n.

161 cardiacus: the Greek medical term has no Latin equivalent, and is used only here in Augustan poetry. Cels. 3.19 asserts that the cause of the disease (*quod cardiacum a Graecis nominatur*) is a “feeble” or “collapsing” stomach/esophagus (*stomacho languente*), and his list of symptoms includes weakness, excessive sweating, cold extremities and a feeble pulse. Wine was thought to alleviate these symptoms; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 15.4, Plin. *Nat.* 23.50. Cic. *Div.* 1.81 describes the disease as the listless, melancholic counterpart to the “frenetic” man’s rage; cf. Cels. 3.19–20 where both the *cardiacus* and the *lethargicus* are described as *phrenetico contrarius*. **Craterum dixisse putato** “assume, thou, that Craterus (“The Crater”) has spoken.” The tone is oracular, and strongly reminiscent of Cato *ad Marc.* (fr. 1 Jordan) *et hoc puta uatem dixisse* (as if to say “consider this written in stone”). Whereas Cato used the phrase to launch into a denunciation of Greek physicians, here the vatic speaker is himself a Greek physician. Craterus was a celebrity physician who treated famous clients. He is known to have invented several drugs still used in Galen’s day; see Galen 13.96 and 14.147 Kühn. In 45 BCE he treated Atticus’ ailing daughter, Attica (Cic. *Att.* 12.13 and 14). Pers. 3.65 puns on the man’s unfortunate name to describe paying his exorbitant fee as “sending huge mountains (of cash) into a Crater.”

162 recte est: sc. *ei*, “is he all right?”; see 2.106 n., *OLD rectus* 9b. **negabit:** sc. *Craterus*.

163 This line is repeated with minimal alterations at *Ep.* 1.6.28 and was accordingly deleted by Haupt (the line is bracketed by Klingner). A general case against such repetitions *tout court* was made by Jachmann 1956, with focused attention to this line at pp. 397ff. Both Porphyrio (*ad loc.*) and Priscian (*GL* 2.221.16) attest to the presence of the line in their respective MSS of the *Sermones*. K–H points out that the line is in fact needed here both to explain Craterus’ objection and to make the medical

terms of the comparison (“not *cardiacus* but still acutely diseased”) correspond to the moral terms that follow (“not an oath-breaker but still *ambitiosus et audax*”). But it is always possible that Dam. failed to finish his thought, thus inciting an ancient editor to supply the missing balance by inserting a suitable line from *Epistles* book 1. Still, the case for deleting the line remains weak, especially since H. is not averse to re-using both full and partial lines of his own poetry; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.56 = *S.* 1.6.74, and *Ep.* 1.20.20 citing a phrase used three times in *S.* 1.6 (6, 45, 46). **temptentur**: the subjunctive has superior MS support and indicates that the reason cited belongs to Craterus. For *temptare* referring to medical afflictions, see *OLD* s.v. 10. On the classification of diseases as “acute” and “chronic,” cf. Cels. 3.1.1 and *OLD acutus* 7.

164–6 periurus = *peiurus* “oath-breaker,” commonly used of pimps in Plautine comedy; cf. Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 20. For the common association of greed with *sordes* “filth,” see *OLD sordes* 4b and *sordidus* 8. **immolet** “let him sacrifice” is set against *naviget* “let him set sail” in 166 as positive result to negative. **aequis ... Laribus** “favorable Lares,” *OLD* s.v. 7. The adjective is given special emphasis by the postponement of its noun to the next line (hyperbaton). The sacrifice is both a thank-offering and a plea for continued protection. The *Lares* were thought to protect the household from physical threats such as starvation, sickness, poverty and blight; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 619 Sk. *Lares tectum nostrum qui funditus curant*. While they were not protectors of morality *per se*, cultivating them was commonly taken as a sign of one’s pious attachment to old-fashioned values. Here the *Lares* are credited with protecting the well-adjusted man from vice as if from a physical threat. For the pig sacrificed to the *Lares*, cf. *Carm.* 3.23.3–4 with N–R *ad loc.* **Anticyram**: accusative of motion toward or “goal of motion,” G–L §337 and NLS §§5–8. With names of towns and small islands, the prepositions *in* and *ad* are regularly omitted after verbs of motion; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 16.9.1. For Anticyra as a source of hellebore, see above 82–3 n. **quid enim differt** “for what difference does it make”? The alternative indirect question that follows constitutes the subject of the impersonal verb *differt*; see *OLD differo* 5b. **barathrone** (= *barathro* + *ne*) refers to the bottomless “devouring pit” of legend, aphorism and comedy. Here we are to understand that it is the politically ambitious man who throws his wealth down the drain, and the greedy man who does not make use of what he has (see next n). Gk βάραθρον derives from βιβρώσκω “swallow,” just as Latin *uorago* “abyss” derives from *uorare* “swallow.” The Greek and Latin words are, in fact, etymologically related; see Chantraine s.v. βάραθρον, and Buck 1933: 326, 345. At *Ep.* 1.15.31, the wastrel-turned-*scurra* Maenius is called a *tempestas barathrumque macelli*; cf. Pl. *Cur.* 123. The note of [Acro] *ad* 1.2.2 indicates that *barathrum* and *balatro* “clown/cadger” were commonly

confused both in sound and in sense, and that some readers knew of (or that they perhaps invented by analogy with *balatro*) a third-declension nominative *barat(h)ro*; see Kenney *ad* Lucr. 3.955. Accordingly, several MSS read *Balatroni* here, as if Dam. has in mind the *scurra* of 2.8.21 (see n.).

167 dones “consign,” *OLD* s.v. 3a. **paratis** “things ready at hand” or “available”; cf. Lucr. 6.9-10. For the philosophical background of the term (= Gk τὰ εὐπόριστα), see N-H *ad Carm.* 1.31.17-18.

168-86 The story of the two sons of Servius Oppidius of Canusium (otherwise unknown) follows from the question just posed in that it features one son who is politically ambitious, and thus prone to throwing his wealth away, and another who other is greedy, and thus he accumulates wealth but never uses it.

168 Canusi: *Canusium* (modern *Canosa*) was a town on the Aufidus river in Apulia, not far from H.’s hometown of *Venusia* (*Venosa*). Some scholars (e.g. Lejay and Fedeli *ad loc.*) speculate that the story draws on memories of H.’s own childhood. **praedia** “farms.”

168-9 diues | antiquo censu “a man rich by old-time reckoning.” The precise word order, helped by the pause at the line-end, conveys a sense of the story-teller’s annoyance with contemporary norms of behavior: “two farms – enough to make him rich ... back then [sc. but certainly not today!];” cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.537.

169 diuisse is shortened from *diuississe* (syncope).

171 talos: elongated dice (lit. “knuckle-bones”) with four flat sides and two rounded ends, distinct from *tesserae*, which had six sides; see N-H *ad Carm.* 1.4.18. **nucisque:** used in a variety of children’s games, nuts were the ancient Roman equivalent of marbles, and they are thus a shorthand for the frivolities of youth; cf. Pers. 1.10 with Kissel *ad loc.*

172 sinu laxo “in a loose fold,” the Roman colloquial equivalent of “a leaky wallet,” implying that Aulus was with free with his money. For the toga-fold used to hold money, see *OLD sinus* 4. **ludere:** here the reference is not to child’s play (see 248 n.), but to gambling (*OLD* s.v. 3), often scolded as a vice of late adolescence; cf. *Ep.* 2.2.183-6 which features a similar pair of mismatched brothers (*alter fratrum cessare et ludere ... praeferat*).

174 uesania discors “conflicting derangement.” If the reading is correct, this is the only attested use of the noun *uesania* in Latin poetry before the second century CE. The alternate reading, *insania*, necessitates the “metrical lengthening” of the final -et in *ageret* before the strong caesura of the fourth foot; cf. similar forced lengthenings in lines 1, 187 and 260 (see nn.); see also Palmer *ad* 1.5.90. Slightly favoring the former is the way it weds two of Dam.’s most trenchant penchants: alliteration (*uos ... uesania*) and verbal abandon.

175 Nomentanus (above 1.22 n. and *S.* 2.8 *passim*) and Cicuta (above 69 and 75 nn.) exemplify the rival behavioral extremes of the wastrel and the ruthless money-lender.

176 Penates: invoked because they were thought to protect the material circumstances of the home.

176–81 Sonic and metrical oddities abound in these lines: 176 features trochaic word-endings at the beginning of feet 4 and 5, perhaps to help characterize the insistence of the father's plea; see Nilsson 60. The next line contains five monosyllables, and the complete mismatch of rhythmic emphasis (ictus) and word accent after the first foot. With three elisions in quick succession, 180 has no caesura, and 181 has an "attenuated" caesura that depends on the reader's helpful indulgence, i.e. one must introduce a seam between the prefix and word-stem in the compound word *intestabilis* (see above 134 n.).

178 quod ... coercet "that which is enough by your father's reckoning and that Nature sets limits to," *OLD coerceo* 4. **putat pater:** takes the sons' own reckoning out of the equation by emphasizing that Oppidius himself has decided what is "enough" for his sons, i.e. a smallish sum set by nature, equal to the basic necessities of life. His sons cannot be left to decide the matter for themselves because they have no concept of "enough" as a limitable sum; cf. the avaricious fool of *S.* 1.1.62 who lives by the credo "*nil satis est.*"

179 ne ... gloria "so that glory/public acclaim does not tickle you," i.e. "thrill you with excitement." The bold metaphor, equating political interests with sensual titillation, captures a practical Italian farmer's disdain for any too-citified ambitions on the part of his sons. The sole appearance of the verb *titillare* in Roman poetry outside of this passage is at Lucr. 2.429–30, describing atoms that are lightly barbed, like those of wine-lees and elecampane (*fecula ... inulaeque*) that do not inflict pain but "tickle the senses" (*titillare ... sensus*). Epicurus often described sensual pleasures in terms of bodily "tickling" (χαργολίζειν); see Epicurus frs. 411–41 Usener, and cf. Cic. *N.D.* 1.113.

180 ambo "both" like *duo* has an accusative in either -os or -o.

180–1 Oppidius levels a mighty curse against whichever of his sons should happen to win an election (an ambition derided by Stertinius/Dam. as costly and vainglorious in the lines that follow; see 182–6 n.). The language of Oppidius' curse recalls that of archaic legal maledictions, e.g. as found in the decree against fraudulent patrons (*Twelve Tables* VIII.21 *patronus si clienti fraudem faxit, sacer esto*) and that against those who renege on a promise of giving testimony in court (*Twelve Tables* VIII.22 *qui ... fuerit ... improbus intestabilisque esto*). The political offices mentioned ("whether aedile or praetor") may refer either to the local magistracies of Canusium,

or to the same offices held at Rome. The latter would assume an exceedingly high level of ambition on the part of Oppidius' ne'er-do-well sons. The joke perhaps has more point if one imagines the dying Oppidius solemnly inveighing against his sons for winning local magistracies that most Romans would consider meaningless dead-ends; cf. the comical pomp of the local praetor, Aufidius Luscus, at S. 1.5.34–5.

181 *intestabilis* “outlaw,” an archaic legal term referring to the execrable liar of *Twelve Tables* VIII.22 (see prev. n.). In some ancient legal sources (e.g. *Inst. Iust.* 2.10.) the term designates one barred from giving *testimonium* (“testimony”) or from serving as *testis* (“witness”). In *Twelve Tables* VIII.22 the *intestabilis* (along with several others, including the *furiosus*) is barred from serving as witness to a *testamentum* (“will”); cf. Porph. *ad loc.* This connection with wills lets us hear a threat of disinheritance in Oppidius' malediction. **sacer esto** “let him be under a curse.” The phrase occurs in the *Twelve Tables* (see previous n.) and twice in the so-called *Leges Regiae*, laws primarily sacral in scope, traditionally credited to Rome's legendary kings; see Watson 1972.

182–6 The punch-line *sacer esto* serves as a transition marker; cf. 158 n. It is followed by an abrupt change of speaker, as if the mention of political ambition somehow causes Stertinius/Dam. suddenly to break away from the story of Oppidius and his sons to address some unnamed fool (*tu* “now you for your part”) who is not in his story, but in his audience. Because the text provides no explicit signal of a change of speaker, some editors (e.g. K–H and Fedeli, though the comments of the latter do not match the punctuation of his text) assign the lines to Oppidius as a continuation of his death-bed speech; cf. also Rudd's translation. Others (Lejay, Muecke) assign them to Stertinius/Dam., citing the strong note of finality sounded by *sacer esto*, and the mismatch of the topical Roman reference in lines 185–6 to the character of Oppidius.

182 in ... lupinis “would you waste your substance on chickpeas, beans and lupins”? Such inexpensive foodstuffs were tossed to the crowds at the *Floralia*, a May Day festival (April 28 – May 3, see below 184 n.) hosted by the curule aedile and put on largely at his own expense; cf. [Acro] *ad loc.* and Pers. 5.177–9 with Kissel *ad loc.* The list here descends from the humble but respectable chickpea to the lupin, which Romans regarded as scarcely edible; cf. Virg. *G.* 1.75 *tristisque lupini*, with Mynors *ad loc.* Col. 2.10.1–3 relates that lupins were used primarily as a cover crop, and to feed cattle in winter, adding that humans could eat them in a pinch to “drive off starvation.” Lupins were also the fake money of the Roman comic stage; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 597–9, Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.23. The devolution of the preacher's list to such a comical low suggests just how low one would have

to stoop to play to Rome's scrabbling crowds at one of their favorite festivals. For the *Floralia* as the commoner's festival, cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.36.

183 *latus ... spatiere* "strut broadly." The phrase is bold (see below) and highly compressed, referring both to the presiding magistrate's pompous air as he makes a wide ceremonial sweep through the full length of the *spatium* "race-track" (*OLD* 1), as well as to the broad purple stripe (*latus clauus*) that he displays on his toga. Among the several honorific insignia and privileges granted to the curule aedile, Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.36–7 mentions the right to wear the *toga praetexta* as well as the *ius imaginis ... prodendae*, captured here by *aeneus ut stes*.

Although pride was often figured by the Romans as a problem of one's occupying too much space (cf. *Epod.* 4.7–8), this is the first time that the adjective *latus* is stretched to mean "full of pomp." Such a stretch of usage caused some modern editors to emend *latus* to *laetus* or *lentus*, which have no MS support; see Bentley *ad loc.*

184 *nudus ... nudus*: the fist-pounding repetition (anaphora) both characterizes the speaker's outrage and paints an outrageous picture: though the adjective is here extended to mean "bereft of" (*OLD* s.v. 1ob), the term's basic bodily sense of "nude" remains comically in play. With it we are invited to picture the purple-clad aedile suddenly stripped bare before a large applauding crowd, a visual effect with particular relevance to the games in question: famed for their uniquely salacious mime plays, the *ludi Florales* (see 182 n.) brought on stage actresses (*mimae* = "prostitutes") who, on this one occasion, were required to strip out of their costumes and perform in the nude. Though Flora's games were institutionalized as one of Rome's six theatrical festivals as early as 238 BCE, her mime performances were always regarded as a scandal by the more severe members of Roman society; see Fantham 1989: 153. On the likelihood that Agrippa sponsored all the major *ludi* in 33 BCE, including the *Floralia*, see Sumi 2015: 208.

185 *scilicet ut* "so that of course." For the ironic use of *scilicet*, see *OLD* s.v. 4. The suggestion that one could compete with Agrippa by tossing legumes and lupins is patently absurd. By the early thirties BCE the office of curule aedile had become so financially demanding that few candidates possessed funds sufficient for holding it, and in some years the office remained vacant; see Sumi 2015: 208. **Agrippa**: Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa rose from obscure origins to become Octavian's chief military strategist and devoted political agent. He held his first consulship in 37 BCE when he was, at most, 27 years old, and by the time he held the curule aedileship in 33 he was far beyond the point of needing the office to advance his career. Rather, he used the office to forward Octavian's cause in the city,

especially among the urban plebs, while Octavian was away. He did so by means of spending lavishly on public works, as well as on games that would long be remembered for their unparalleled magnificence. Reinhold 1965: 47 suggests that the aedileship of Agrippa “was, in effect, the beginning of the new régime”; further on Agrippa’s aedileship, see Zanker 1988: 71–2, Reinhold 1965: 45–52 and Dio 49.43.8. **feras tu:** because it is not immediately preceded by a monosyllable, the stressed lone monosyllable at the line-end produces a clash of ictus and accent in the final two feet. Such rhythm-disrupting cadences at the line-end are common in Ennius (e.g. *Ann.* 363 *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*) and in Lucretius, but assiduously avoided by Catullus and Cicero, and used sparingly by Virgil and Ovid, e.g. there is just one instance of a clash-inducing final monosyllable in the whole of the sixth book of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (line 846, a passage that deliberately recalls the Ennian line cited above). Further on line-end monosyllables in Latin hexameters, see Fortson 2011: 99–101, Hough 1975, and cf. 202 n. In this case, the emphasis laid upon *tu* at the line-end conveys an air of scoffing incredulity. In essence: “imagine, of all people, trying to compete with Agrippa ... *you!*”

186 The line combines elements of fable with proverbial expressions figuring lions and foxes as naturally opposed types, i.e. lions as fearless hunters, foxes as cowardly thieves, sneaky and parasitic; cf. Petr. 44.15, Lucr. 3.741–2.

187–223 Without notice we find ourselves transported to the Greek camp at Troy, witnesses to a debate between Agamemnon and a Stoic cross-examiner. Zeno, founder of the Stoic school, was especially fond of enlivening his arguments in the manner attempted here, by abruptly shifting into extended “live” confrontations with characters from history or Greek mythology; see Nussbaum 2009: 85. The third book of Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations* provides numerous instances of the kind of philosophical illustration that Dam. is apparently trying to approximate; e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.26, berating Thyestes, *Tusc.* 3.36–43, a sustained interrogation of Epicurus’ supporters that, at times, turns to address Epicurus himself. The same device (“apostrophic” interrogation of a fictional or long-deceased character who is challenged for a concept espoused) was much favored by the late first-century Stoic philosopher, Epictetus; e.g. 1.22.5 (challenging Agamemnon) and 2.24.22 (addressing first Achilles, then Agamemnon). Epictetus may have known some form of the device from Zeno and Chrysippus, whose philosophical writings he openly admires and imitates (esp. the latter), but the more likely precedents in his case are Cynic dialogue (e.g. Bion fr. 69 Kindstrand) and Menippean satire, where fantastical encounters with the dead and the debunking of heroes are *de rigueur* and have their ultimate source in Greek Old Comedy.

After Achilles' arms were awarded to Ulysses, Ajax flew into a rage and attempted to murder the leaders who had deprived him of what he thought was his rightful prize. In his deranged state, he killed cattle thinking they were Agamemnon and Menelaus. Upon returning to his senses, Ajax sees his error and commits suicide. The story is outlined in Homer's *Odyssey* (11.543–62) and narrated in full in the cyclical Homeric *Aethiopis* and *Ilias parua*. The most famous version of the myth is that of Sophocles' *Ajax* (c. 442 BCE). Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Accius and Pacuvius all wrote plays on the theme of Ajax's suicide; see Krenkel 2002, vol. I: 75 and 220. Outside of tragedy, the myth appeared in many humorous forms. One fragment remains of Varro's *Ajax stramenticius*, a satire on the theme of Ajax's madness that some commentators have interpreted as a burlesque of the fourth Stoic paradox (exactly as here); see Buecheler 1915, vol. I: 537, Cèbe 1972: 85 and Sigsbee 1976: 246. In addition, Varro wrote a parody of the judgment of Achilles' arms, the *Armorum Iudicium* (also the title of an early first-century BCE Atellan farce by Pomponius), wherein he seems to have featured famous philosophers wrangling in the manner of Agamemnon and Ajax (Var. *Men.* 43). In the satire entitled *Eumenides* the madness of Ajax (again as here) is used to illustrate some other vice, such as *avaritia* or *ambitio*; see esp. frs. 125–6.

The story serves up a compelling set of philosophical problems: how is it that Ajax acts more sanely while insane, i.e. killing sheep rather than his fellow Greeks, but upon recovering his sanity he kills himself? Armed with the tools of Stoic dialectic, Stertinius/Dam. undertakes to interrogate Agamemnon about his decision to forbid the burial of Ajax, apparently unaware that there is no logically cogent way that one can presume to reason with a madman about his being mad; cf. the Orestes paradox above (see 120 n.). The cross-examination is a hodge-podge of Greek and Roman, high and low, mixing epic and tragic elements with Roman legal formulae, Socratic gestures, and so on. The dialogue takes an especially strange turn at line 214 where Dam. seems to forget that he is speaking to a character from Greek mythology, and thus he slips into arguing with Agamemnon about things totally alien to Agamemnon's heroic world: children carried on litters, praetorial injunctions, women named Rufa and Posilla, the goddess Bellona, etc. The comical effect of this discrepancy is roughly that of S. 2.5 (see below).

187 ne quis ... uelit: the formula *ne quis uelit* + the perfect infinitive ("let no one do x," *OLD uolo* ga) is common in legal decrees, such as the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BCE (*CIL* I² 581), where it occurs repeatedly. With special relevance to burials in Rome is an inscription found on the lower reaches of the Esquiline hill near the praetorian camp, the edict of the urban praetor, L. Sentius (*CIL* VI 31614): *nei quis ...*

ustrinam fecisse uelit ne iue stercus cadauer iniecisse uelit. For the formula in literary contexts, see De Meo 1983: 100. **Atrida:** Greek names ending in long *-es* normally have a vocative termination in long *-e*, as at *Ep.* 1.7.43 *Atride*. But the vocative in short *-a* occurs frequently as well. **uetas cur:** cf. *feras tu* in 185 above (see n.).

188 “rex sum”: Agamemnon’s vainglory is on display in his two-syllable response = “I am king (and that is all that needs to be said!)”; cf. a similar peremptory response from Menelaus at Soph. *Ajax* 1050. **plebeius** “man of the plebs,” designating a free citizen of non-patrician stock, i.e. “a commoner.” The term is thoroughly infused with Roman notions of political class and social status, and has no precise Greek equivalent. The tragedies of Ennius are full of such strangely “defamiliarizing” moments wherein (as here) the received Greek mythological materials are made to speak in specifically Roman terms; see Erasmo 2004: 19–20, Boyle 2005: 60–3.

189 inulto “with immunity from punishment”; cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.74–83 where the seer Calchas, himself a man of low status, must first secure Achilles’ protection before he will reveal the truth in Agamemnon’s presence.

191 reducere: a relic of archaic orthography. The double *d* lengthens the first syllable (normally short, as in line 294). See Bailey on Lucr. 1.228 *redducit Venus*, and Lindsay 1894: 113–14.

192 consulere: understands *me* as its subject (“may I take counsel” sc. either *tecum* “with you,” or direct object accusative *te*), but *respondere* requires a change of subject to *te* (“and then you respond”); cf. Cic. *Att.* 9.10.4 *eodem die das alteras litteras quibus mihi consulenti planissime respondes*. For *licet consulere* as a formula used by clients in asking a lawyer’s advice, see Cic. *Mur.* 28, and Lewis–Short s.v. *consulo* B.1.b.

193 consule: perhaps imitates Socratic dialogue; see [Acro] *ad loc.*, and cf. *Symp.* 199b–c where Socrates seeks permission to conduct his interrogation, and is then answered by Phaedrus with ἄλλ’ ἐρώτα “go ahead and ask.” **secundus** “next after,” i.e. “second only to” (*OLD* s.v. 10c).

195 Wills 34–5 points out that this highly alliterative “epic passage in a non-epic poem” imitates the verbal structures and sentiments of two separate passages in Homer: *Il.* 1.255 where Nestor worries that Priam and his sons will “take delight” (γῆθησαι = *gaudeat*) when they see Achilles and Agamemnon fighting one another, and *Il.* 4.164–5, projecting the imminent demise of Priam and his “people” (λαός = *populus*). Both Homeric passages feature the co-ordinated polyptoton Πρίαμος Πριάμοιο, translated here by *Priami Priamusque*. Further on the epic background of lines 193–8, see Fedeli *ad loc.*

197 mille ouium “a thousand of sheep.” The use of the substantive adjective + partitive genitive is an archaic formulation; see Kent 1911a:

74–5. **morti dedit** “gave over to death.” Agamemnon’s use of such a grand circumlocution to refer to the deaths of farm animals finds him not only speaking in (strangely applied) heroic clichés, but rhetorically overstretching his argument against Ajax as well. For the phrase as a sacral formula, see Jocelyn *ad Enn. Trag.* 283 *liberi leto dati*, and cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.17 *datum Pelea Tartaro*, with the comments of N–R *ad loc.* (“*datum Tartaro* is grandiose euphemism for ‘killed’”). A similar grandiose formula (also using a partitive genitive) again describes the demise of sheep at Virg. *G.* 3.480 *et genus omne neci pecudum dedit*. **inclitum** occurs only here in H. For the word’s archaic tone, see Skutsch *ad Enn. Ann.* 146 and Oakley 1997 *ad Liv.* 6.11.2 *a patriciae gentis uiro et inclitae famae*.

199 pro “instead of” can also mean “by mistake for”; see *OLD* s.v. 6. By thus mistaking his daughter “for a calf,” Agamemnon suffers the madness of Ajax (mistaking animals for people) in reverse, with results that are far more dire. **Aulide** “at Aulis” refers to the Boeotian port where the Greek fleet gathered before setting out for Troy. It was here that Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter, Iphigenia, to appease an offended Artemis and elicit favorable winds.

199–200 statuis ... ante aras is ritual language identifying Agamemnon as the officiant who directs the proceedings; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.627 *statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuuenum*. **mola ... salsa**: refers to the rite of *immolatio*, in which the officiant presiding over the sacrifice sprinkled a loose mixture of salted *far* on the knife, the fire and the victim’s head prior to sacrifice in order to consecrate the offering; see Scheid 2003: 83, and cf. 8.87 n. and Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.133. Here the words complete an ill-advised (chiastic) antithesis contrasting “sweet” (daughter) with “salty” (meal). **improbe** “wicked cad!” carries suggestions of impudence and audacity.

201 rectum animi servas “are you in your right mind”? The neuter adjective is used substantively (*OLD* *rectus* 10b) and takes a partitive genitive (lit. “are you maintaining straightness of mind?”). As a tragic expression, cf. Soph. *OC* 1487 κατορθούντος φρένα, and Eur. *Medea* 1129 φρονεῖς μὲν ὀρθὰ ... γύναι. The idea that the sane mind is “straight” or “upright” is especially common in Stoic sources; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 66.2, 13, and see LSJ s.v. κατορθώσις, with Cic. *Fin.* 3.45 where *recta effectio* “right achieving” (sc. of a known goal) translates Stoic κατορθώσις. **“quorsum?”** “What’s your point?”

202 strauit ferro “laid low with iron,” a high-sounding phrase, again oddly applied to sheep; cf. Ajax’s scoffing words to Ulysses at Acc. fr. 115–17W: *uidi te, Vlixes, saxo sternentem Hectora*. The passage, commonly assigned to Accius’ *Armorum iudicium*, is cited in full by Charisius at *G.L.* 1.284.2 as an instance of *mycterismos*, on which see below 8.64 n. **abstinuit uim**: after a grand opening of four spondees in succession, the line ends feebly with the exact metrical equivalent of Hor. *Ars* 139 *ridiculus mus* (preceded by

three spondees), and with a matching sonic repetition (*abstinuit uim*). For the awkward effects of such monosyllabic line-endings, see above 185 n., and Brink *ad Ars* 139.

205–6 aduerso litore ... eriperem: Agamemnon talks of “rescuing” his ships (*OLD eripio* 5) from a “hostile” (*OLD aduersus* 9) shore, as if they were under some kind of physical attack rather than simply delayed by contrary winds. Because *aduersus* was so commonly used of adverse winds (*OLD* s.v. 4c, 5b, 7) the adjective’s use here may be that of a transferred epithet (*hypallage*). **prudens** “fully aware,” i.e. not *insanus* as Ajax was; cf. 5.58 *nam furis? an prudens ludis me?* **placauit sanguine:** similar language (purporting to quote the instructions of a Delphic oracle) is used to describe the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Virg. *Aen.* 2.116 *sanguine placastis*. H. and Virgil may have taken the phrase from some common source now lost, wherein an oracle (or Calchas) was quoted telling Agamemnon to “placate the winds (or Artemis) with blood.” In which case Agamemnon’s use of the phrase here would amount to “I was just following orders.” He conveniently neglects to mention whose blood he spilled.

207 tuo: sc. *sanguine*.

208–9 qui ... capiet “one who grasps impressions of the truth that are different (sc. from the truth), and that have been jumbled by the mental tumult of crime.” The lines are replete with textual and conceptual difficulties. The MSS are divided between *alias ueris* (“impressions other than true ones”) and *alias ueri* (“other/different impressions of the truth”). The scholiasts knew both options. As at *Ars* 7, where the MSS are divided between *aegri somnia* and *aegris somnia*, the textual discrepancy in this case may have come about when a final -s was added to *ueri*, repeating the initial letter of the following word (dittography, i.e. *ueri sceleris* becoming *ueris sceleris*, the two phrases being virtually indistinguishable in pronunciation); see Brink *ad loc.* Muecke follows Horkel’s emendation *ueris cerebri*, but the scholiasts wrestle only with *sceleris tumultu*, treating the phrase as problematic but solvable; cf. Bentley *ad loc.* who writes “non cognosco illum *sceleris tumultum*.” He proposes a change in punctuation that is supported by one of the comments of [Acro]: *qui species alias, ueri scelerisque tumultu Permistas, capiet* (“one who grasps other impressions, ones mixed by the confusion of truth with crime”). Rudd translates *sceleris tumultu* “turmoil arising from his own guilt,” presumably referencing the madness visited upon Orestes as a punishment for his crime. For *tumultus* in the sense of mental turmoil, see *OLD* s.v. 5 and Harrison *ad Carm.* 2.16.10–11. **species:** Stertinius/Dam. approximates the language of Stoic epistemology by putting perception in terms of “impressions” (φαντασῖαι) that are “grasped” (καταλαμβάνειν). Cic. *Ac.* 1.40–1 provides the standard Latin translations

of the Stoic epistemological terms that were first developed by Zeno: *quam ille phantasia nos visum appellemus licet ... id autem uisum ... cum acceptum iam et approbatum esset, comprehensionem appellabat*; cf. Sen. *Ira* 1.3.7 describing the confused perception of animals. Further on Stoic knowledge as a firm, rational “grasping” (κατάληψις) of clear and reliable sense-impressions, see Hankinson 1997.

210 nihilum distabit “it will make no difference at all.” Dam. points out that the precise motivation for the disturbed man’s behavior, whether *stultitia* or *ira*, is irrelevant, since both the enraged man and the fool are insane.

212 tu: the support of the MSS for this reading, adopted by SB, is sparse (all the most prominent early manuscripts read *cum*), but cf. the emphatic *tu* that begins the question of 199, marking the exact spot where (as here) a general “mythic” lesson is suddenly turned against an unspecified “you.” **titulos** “titles” are inscriptions attached to statues or portrait busts of famous men, itemizing their offices and achievements. Here the term is used as a metonym for the offices themselves and the fame they bring. **inanes:** for the adjective used to describe political ambition, cf. *Ep.* 2.2.206–7, *Epod.* 5.7.

213 stas animo “are you steady in your mind,” i.e. “mentally stable”? **tumidum:** making free use of medical terminology, Stertinius/Dam. attempts to play physician to Agamemnon by pointing out that his heart is “diseased/morally flawed” (*OLD uitium* 2b and 4) because it is “swollen/puffed up with pride” (*OLD tumidus* 1 and 5); cf. below 307 (see n.), Cic. *Tusc.* 3.19.

214–18 In asking Agamemnon to consider the case of a man who treats his pet lamb as if she were his lovingly pampered daughter, Stertinius/Dam. is presenting him with his own treatment of Iphigenia in reverse, i.e. the daughter whom Agamemnon treated as a sacrificial animal. The picture of the lamb doted on by her owner, carried on a litter and sumptuously adorned, even as it refers back to the mock processional and fake marriage of Iphigenia, offers a fleeting glimpse into the life of a (clearly pampered and well-to-do) Roman girl as she approaches the age of marriage. This period in the lives of Roman girls is rarely described in ancient texts; see Harlow and Laurence 2001: 56–64.

214 nitidam “sleek” is used of persons who are young and elegantly styled (*OLD* s.v. 3 and 6) as well as of animals that are healthy and thriving (*OLD* s.v. 5). **agnam:** only when one reaches this word at the end of the line is the latter sense of *nitidam* put into play.

216 Rufam “Ginger” is a common female cognomen; see Nappa 1999: 331 on the “red-head” of Catullus 59.1 *Rufa Rufulum fellat*. Here *Rufa* is the pet name used by a doting father to describe his “daughter,” i.e. the

light-haired lamb he mistakes for a girl. **Pusillam** “Girlie” is the diminutive form of *pusa* “girl.” Kajanto 1965: 300 categorizes *Pusillus/-a* as a cognomen “relating to age,” used in Latin inscriptions to describe the very young. **fortique:** implies both physically “strapping” (*OLD* s.v. 1f) and heroically “gallant” (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. 1.16 n.

217 A metrically difficult line, with three elisions and a lone stressed monosyllable at the line-end (on which, see above 185 n.). Nilsson 84 points out that this is the only case in the satires where a main strong caesura in the fourth foot is blurred by a “hard” elision, i.e. the long vowel yielding to short in *interdicto huic*.

217–18 Both madmen and prodigals risked having control over their property re-assigned to the *curatio* “caretaking” (perhaps rendered here by *tutela* “guardianship,” but see next n.) of a close male relative or to some other *curator* chosen *interdicto* “by injunction” of the urban praetor; see Berger 1953 s.v. *furiosus* and *curator furiosi*, and Just. *Inst. Lib.* 1. tit. 23, referring to *Twelve Tables* V.7 (Crawford 1996, vol. II: 646). Horace will describe his own unstable mental state with the same legal terminology at *Ep.* 1.1.102–4; see Mayer *ad loc.*

218 abeat tutela “he would be assigned to sane relatives as theirs to look after.” This translation takes *tutela* in apposition to the madman himself, who is the subject of *abeat*. The problem with taking *tutela* as a technical reference to legal guardianship *per se* (“his guardianship would be assigned to”) is that the proper term for a grown man’s caretaking is *cura* or *curatio*, not *tutela*, which normally applies to young males and women of all ages. But it is also possible that Stertinius/Dam. is attempting to use legal terms that he does not completely understand. On the technical distinctions separating *curatio* from *tutela*, see Crook 1967: 113–18.

220 integer ... animi “mentally unimpaired” (see above 65 n.). **ne dixeris:** sc. *illud* “say no such thing” = an appalled “surely not!” Stertinius/Dam. is answering his own question and cutting off any possibility of further discussion. For his affronted tone (funnily taking offense at his own suggestion), cf. the response of the braggart gymnast to Aesop when asked whether his opponent had not been more powerfully built (Phaed. 6.13): “*Ne istud dixeris; multo fuere vires maiores meae.*”

220–1 praua | stultitia “deformed/vicious folly.” Both medical and moral senses are in play, as at *Ep.* 2.2.152–3 *prauam | stultitiam*; see Brink *ad loc.*

222 cepit “takes captive,” as at *Ep.* 2.1.156 *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit*. Here two gnomic perfects are used in successive lines to produce a formal aphorism (“he who is taken captive by fame is mad for war”). **uitrea** “glassy.” Porph. *ad loc.* remarks that this refers either to the attractive “brilliance” of glass, or its fragility: *aut fragilis, aut splendida*. Both senses

are in play, as in the aphorism of Pub. *Sent.* 189. **Fama**: here a personified goddess, the counterpart to Bellona in the next line.

223 circumtonuit “thunders round,” a gnomic perfect (see previous n.). The grand, five-syllable word occurs for the first time here to express the idea that war-frenzy is a shock that blasts one from one’s senses. The usual term used to convey the idea is *attonitus* “thunderstruck” = Gk ἐμβροντήτος; see *OLD attonitus* 3 and 4. Since all subsequent uses of *circumtonare* occur within epic, it is likely that H. knew the word from one of Rome’s more inflated poets of martial epic, such as Furius Bibaculus. Here the word supplies the last member of an ascending tricolon that moves from lesser madness to greater: from the “vicious” *stultitia* of the *insanus* to the “criminal” rage of the *furiosus* to the absolute height of insanity, the gleeful bloodlust of one goaded to frenzy by war. **gaudens Bellona cruentis** “Bellona reveling in blood” (trans. Rudd). Bellona was an archaic Italic war goddess who became identified with the Cappadocian goddess Ma after the rites of Ma were introduced into Italy in the early first century BCE. As a regular feature of Bellona’s rites, her priests worked themselves into a state of sacred frenzy and slashed their arms with knives, then sprinkled worshipers with their blood. The picture that Dam. paints of the goddess gleefully splattered in gore reflects on these rites; cf. the central panel of Aeneas’ shield at Virg. *Aen.* 8.702–3 *et scissa gaudens uadit Discordia palla, | quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello*. Further on Bellona, see Dumézil 1996, vol. I: 390–2, Watson and Watson 2014 *ad* Juv. 6.511–12. For the several temples of Ma-Bellona in Rome, with details concerning her rites, see Richardson 58.

224 Nunc age “come now” is a transitional formula that signals a major change in topic; see Kenney *ad* Lucr. 3.417. Here the topic shifts from *ambitio* (just concluded in a high-flying climax) to *luxuria*. **arripe** “assail” (*OLD* s.v. 8b); cf. 1.69 above (see n.). **Nomentanus**: for the spendthrift, see above 175 n.

225 uincet in the sense “will convince you that” takes an acc. + inf. construction; see *OLD* s.v. 4d and below 250 n. **nepotes** “spendthrifts” (*OLD* s.v. 4). For the cultural realities behind the odd metaphorical equation of “grandson” = “spendthrift”/“playboy,” see Bettini 1991: 52–4.

226 mille talenta: the talent was the largest monetary measure of antiquity, whether by weight or by value. The Greek unit was equivalent to roughly 25 kilos of silver (in Roman measure = 6,000 *denarii*, 24,000 sesterces), making the thousand talents referred to here an impressively large, if not proverbially luxurious sum (“a king’s ransom”); cf. Sen. *Suas.* 1.6, Curt. 3.5.16, Juv. 14.274–5.

227 edicit “he issues a decree,” i.e. as if he were a senior magistrate issuing an *edictum* at the beginning of his term; see 2.51 n. and Mayer *ad*

Ep. 1.19.10. This sets up the punch-line of line 230 (see n.). In several of its particulars, Nomentanus' asyndetic list is reminiscent of the parasite Gnatho's overblown description of his receiving a hero's welcome *ad macellum* at Ter. *Eun.* 255–9; see Barsby 1999 *ad loc.* Cic. *Off.* 1.150 quotes line 257 of Gnatho's list (*cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores*) to berate the professions named as the most contemptible *ministrae uoluptatum*. But the closer analogue is Plaut. *Capt.* 803–28 where the parasite Ergasilus, falsely thinking that he has just received a "juicy inheritance" (775), issues a series of magisterial decrees (803, 811, 823 *prius edico ne ... basilicas edictiones ... edictiones aedilicias*) warning the purveyors of cheap foodstuffs to stay out of his way because he has had enough of their paltry fare. For Ergasilus' warnings as a parody of the aedilician edict, see Watson 1971: 78–9. For other instances of aedilician and praetorian edicts used for parody, see Curtis 1980. **pomarius**: the substantive use of the adjective to designate a "fruit-seller" occurs elsewhere only in inscriptions. **auceps** "bird-catcher."

228 unguentarius "perfume-seller." **ac ... uici** "as well as the swindling rabble of Tuscan Street," i.e. hawkers of expensive luxuries and pimps; cf. Porph. *ad loc.*: *lenones dicit. ibi enim commanent*. Known as a corridor of luxury shops and a red-light district, the *Vicus Tuscus* ran from the Forum Romanum to the Forum Boarium. The street's reputation for illicit pleasures was established already in Plautus' day; cf. *Cur.* 481–2. Further on the *Vicus Tuscus*, see Richardson 363 and 429, O'Neill 2000, and Holleran 2012: 57.

229 fartor "poulterer" (lit. "stuffer"). The rare term refers to an expert fattener of hens; cf. Col. 8.7.1, *CIL* 8848. **Velabro** "the Velabrum" is generally considered the larger valley through which the *Vicus Tuscus* ran as its main thoroughfare; see 228 n. Wiseman 2008: 390 argues that the Velabrum was not the entire valley between the Capitoline and Palatine, but "a place, probably a piazza, on the street that led from the Forum to the Circus Maximus." Porph. *ad* 228 supports the thesis by noting a clear distinction between the *Vicus Tuscus* and the Velabrum: *Tuscus dicitur uicus, qua itur ad Velabrum*. **macellum** "the provisions market" was a large colonnaded square with shops all around and a round building at its center that served as a fish market. It was to the north of the Republican Forum Romanum, just behind the Basilica Aemilia (in the area now occupied by the ruins of the Forum of Augustus). It is not clear that the foodstuffs sold here were different from those sold at the Velabrum. The market had just undergone restoration by Octavian in 34 BCE; see Richardson 240–1, *LTUR*, vol. III: 201–3 and fig. 135.

230 ueniant: if this were a real magistrate's decree one might expect the execrable crew to be ordered out of town (*exeant!*), rather than invited

to the magistrate's house to receive lavish rewards for their services. The early morning gathering resembles a formal *consilium propinquorum et amicorum*; on which, see Rawson 1986: 137–44, and cf. the *consilium* arrogantly mishandled by Tarquinius Superbus at Liv. 1.50.1. **quid tum** “what then?” i.e. “what happened next?” Stertinius/Dam. poses the question to himself. As a set transitional formula, see *OLD tum* 8d. Thinking the question pointless and disruptive, Bentley proposed emending *quid tum* to *quicum*, but Fedeli *ad loc.* points out that the phrase *quid tum* is often used for precisely this purpose, i.e. to disrupt the monotony of a long speech. **uenerere frequentes** “they came in droves.”

231 uerba facit “does the speaking.” The phrase adds an official air to the pimp's words by marking him as spokesman for the group; see *OLD uerbum* 5c, Berger 1953 s.v. *uerba facere*, and cf. Liv. 3.53.2 *Icilius pro multitudine uerba facit*. The gathering of scoundrels thus mimics a formal political gathering, such as a *contio* or meeting of the senate. The line that follows humorously deflates the formalizing tone of the phrase *uerba facit* by bringing the literal significance of these words to the fore: the rare twelve-word hexameter finds the *leno* “making words” at a ferocious pace, characterizing him as a greedy and obsequious fast-talker.

233 accipe “learn,” see *OLD* s.v. 18, and 2.70 n. The tone is brusque and condescending; cf. 46 and 307.

234 tu niue: the MSS read *in niue*. Bentley proposed reading *tu* for *in* in order to spell out the strong *tu/ego* contrast that the sense seems to demand (Peerlkamp proposed reading *tu cana* for *Lucana*). **Lucana:** the imagined hunt takes place in the dead of a winter's night, knee-deep in the snows of the Lucanian mountains of south Italy. Nasidienus, the gourmet host of S. 2.8, thought that Lucanian boar tasted best when hunted in mild weather; see 8.6 n. On the forests of ancient Lucania (modern Basilicata) as a hunter's paradise, see Isayev 2007: 53. **ocreatus** “wearing leggings.” High leather greaves (*ocreae*) were standard gear for Roman hunters; see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 40.5 *fasciis curalibus*. The rare adjective occurs for the first time here.

235 uerris “sweep,” i.e. gather up using drag-nets. **hiberno** “wintry” implies “stormy,” as at 2.17 above *hiemat mare*.

236 indignus ... possideam “not worthy to possess so much,” a generic (“characterizing”) relative clause.

237 deciens: when used of money, the adverb regularly omits *centena milia sestertium* and functions as a neuter substantive. Thus “ten times” here = “a million sesterces”; see *OLD decies* 2b, *OLD sestertium*, and G–L §96.6.

238 unde is both spatial and personal (*OLD* s.v. 8) = “from whose side.” While the husband who connives at his wife's sexual dalliances in return

for money and influence is a type best known from later Roman elegy and satire (cf. below 5.75-6 n., Ovid *Am.* 2.19, Juv. 1.55-7, and Tracy 1976), the Julian adultery laws of 17 BCE addressed such connivances as a pervasive, and very real, social ill; see Ulpian *dig.* 48.5.2.2.

239 Aesopi: Clodius Aesopus was, along with Quintus Roscius Gallus, one of Rome's most celebrated tragic actors in the first half of the first century BCE; see Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.82. Upon his death, Aesop's son, M. Clodius Aesopus, squandered a magnificent patrimony of 20 million sesterces. According to Val. Max. 9.1.2, he sought to dispose of the money as quickly as possible by dining on expensive songbirds and dissolving pearls into his drinks. According to Plin. *Nat.* 9.119-122, Cleopatra challenged Marc Antony to a wager, betting that she could spend 10 million sesterces not just on a single banquet, but on her own dinner alone. She won the bet by dissolving one of her pearl earrings in vinegar and drinking it. The other earring would end up decorating the statue of Venus in Agrippa's Pantheon in Rome. **Metellae:** Caecilia Metella was the daughter of Q. Metellus Celer and Clodia, whom both Shackleton Bailey and Wiseman have identified as the notorious adulteress of Cicero's *pro Caelio*; see Wiseman 1974: 111-12, 188-91, and Shackleton Bailey 1965-70: vol. V: 412-13. Following in her mother's footsteps, Metella was, according to Ov. *Tr.* 2.433-38, a famous heroine of early, and quite sexually explicit, Latin love poetry, featured as the adulterous lover of the poet Ticide, who (in poems published c. 50 BCE) referred to her by the pseudonym Perilla, and perhaps also of C. Memmius, who wrote about her using her real name; see Hollis 2007: 158-63. M. Clodius Aesopus is the last known of her many lovers.

240 deciens solidum "a solid million" (*OLD* s.v. *solidus* 9c). For *deciens* see above 237 n. Stertinius/Dam. is apparently striving for a paradox: Aesop swallows a "solid" million in liquid form.

241 qui "how."

242 illud idem: agrees with *deciens solidum* ("that same million").

243 Quinti ... Arri: Q. Arrius, the lavish spender mentioned above (see 86 n.). The man's worthless sons are introduced by the high-sounding and mock-honoric titles *progenies* and *par nobile fratrum*.

244 nequitia ... gemellum "a pair perfectly alike in their naughtiness and nonsense, as well as their craving (of) corruption." The vices are sonically paired (as twins) via assonance and alliteration: *nequitia et nugis*. The assonance of *prauorum et amore* forms another matched pair in the line's second half. *amore* is ablative of respect with *gemellum*, the latter agreeing with *par*.

245 luscinius "nightingales." The word occurs only here in Augustan poetry. *impenso:* sc. *pretio*, ablative of price with *coemptas*: "purchased at

enormous expense.” Plin. *Nat.* 10.84 tells of a particularly fine specimen that cost 600,000 sesterces. Nightingales normally fetched such prices not for their flavors as luncheon fare, but for the sweetness of their song.

246 quorsum “into which category”? **creta ... notati** “marked as sane in chalk, or [sc. as mad] in carbon.” Stertinius/Dam. refers to the Roman practice of marking days on the calendar as propitious and celebratory or accursed by means of white chalk or black carbon (white and black pebbles were also used). Here the idea is extended to persons, sane and insane. The idea is further extended to good and bad moral qualities by Persius in his imitation of this line at Pers. 5.107–8; see Kissel *ad loc.* and *ad Pers.* 2.1, and N–H *ad Carm.* 1.36.10.

247–80 Without warning, Stertinius/Dam. jumps to his next topic, *amor*, treating the vice of erotic infatuation as a childish craze that, in an older man (such as H., now in his mid thirties) must be accounted madness. Here the speaker’s stock moral arguments and illustrations seem to press ever more tightly on H. himself, as his resemblance to the regularly chided stock characters of comedy and philosophical censure becomes increasingly palpable. The noose that ensnares him begins to grow especially tight from this point on; see next nn.

247 aedificare: the first in a series of subject infinitives describing childish pursuits. **casas**: often used of humble “cottages” or “huts,” the term here refers to a child’s “playhouse.” **plostello adiungere mures** “harnessing mice to a tiny cart.” Elsewhere *plostellum* (diminutive of *plaustrum*; see Adams 2013: 85) occurs only at Var. *R.* 1.52.1, where it refers not to a child’s toy but to a grain-threshing device.

248 par impar “even odd” was a guessing game that required one child to hide a certain number of beans, nuts or coins in his hand and demand of his opponent *quot insunt?* A correct guess of odd or even would win the contents of the questioner’s hand, and the game was played back and forth until one child held (presumably to keep) all the pieces. On this and other children’s games in Rome, see Paoli 1984: 232–42.

249 amentia uerset: sc. *eum* “madness would be spinning him” (*OLD uerso* 1b), i.e. he’d be whirling in/dizzy with madness; cf. a child’s spinning top deployed as a symbol of madness at Virg. *Aen.* 7.378–84. The vivid phrase perhaps recalls the language of an actual Roman gaming board (*tabula lusoria* = *PLM* 4.132) featuring an inscription of six Latin words each consisting of six letters, with each letter presumably used as a space for playing the pieces (*lapilli*):

SPERNE	LVCVRM
VERSAT	MENTES
INSANA	CVPIDO

“Don’t be greedy. Insane lust spins/dizzies minds.” On the game-board the word *uersat* is presumably a double-entendre referring to the confusion/vertigo brought on by greed as well as to the actual “flipping” of game pieces; see Toner 1995: 91.

250 si ... amare “if reason decisively proves that being in love is more childish than these” (i.e. referring to the behaviors just mentioned in 247–9). The “then” clause (apodosis) is postponed to 253 (see n.). For the construction *ratio euincet*, see above 225 n. **amare** “to be in love” is the subject of *esse*.

251–2 trimus | quale prius, ludas opus = *ludas opus quale trimus prius opus ludebas*.

253 sollicitus plores: the lover’s lament for his lost, or otherwise uncooperative, girlfriend (normally a prostitute or freedwoman) is a stock theme of comedy, elegy, epigram and lyric. **faciasne** “would you do”? is the long-awaited apodosis of the sentence that began in line 250.

254–7 Stertinius/Dam. urges the lover to abandon his childish ways by citing the example of Polemo, a profligate who came to see the error of his ways while attending a lecture on self-control by Xenocrates, who succeeded Speusippus as head of Plato’s Academy c. 339 BCE. In the fullest and most dramatic account of his conversion (Val. Max. 6.9. ext. 1), Polemo attends the lecture dressed in party attire, still drunk from a long night of drinking, and as he listens to Xenocrates speak he gradually strips away the trappings of his dissolution, beginning with the garland on his head. Lejay *ad* 254 points out that the anecdote concerns not just a young wastrel’s coming to see the error of his ways, but the amazing transformative powers of his teacher, Xenocrates, who became an “example proverbial de la puissance de la predication philosophique” by transforming Polemo’s entire life, once and for all, by means of a single speech. So great was the teacher’s “cure” of his student’s disease in Xenocrates’ case that Polemo went on to succeed him as head of the Academy upon his death in 314–313 BCE. In citing the anecdote, Dam. puts H. in mind of his own miraculous conversion by Stertinius, perhaps to have him think that he is now Stertinius’ successor.

254 mutatus “once reformed.”

255 fasciolas “bands” were worn as warming wraps and bandages by the sick, wrapped around the head, throat, legs, etc.; see *OLD fasciola* 2. **cubital**: occurs only here, presumably referring to a “sling” or some other wrap worn on the elbow; see K–H and Muecke *ad loc.* **focalia** “scarves” (from *fauces*). As items worn by invalids, cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.144.

256 ex collo: the neck garland marks Polemo as abandoned to excess; cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.5.27, Ov. *Fast.* 2.739–40.

257 impransi: see above 2.7 n. The philosopher's self-control is in marked contrast to the over-indulgence of Polemo who, even at midday, remains drunk from the night before.

258 porrigis ... puero ... poma: the alliteration underscores the speaker's insistence; see Fedeli *ad loc.* For apples as erotic symbols and typical lovers' gifts, see Littlewood 1968: 153–9.

259 catelle “pup.” The diminutive pet name is used to sweet-talk the angered boy; cf. the slave's retort to a cajoling *meretrix* at Plaut. *As.* 693–4. In his scorn for his pursuer's inexpensive gift the boy resembles the cruel and easily affronted *delicatus puer* of later Roman elegy; cf. Verstraete 2005: 310 on the characterization of the attractive young Marathus (Tib. 1.4, 1.8, 1.9) as “fickle and greedy, a thoroughly spoiled and willful young man.” On gift-giving as a ploy of aging lovers, cf. Tib. 1.8.29 *det munera canus amator*. The *puer delicatus* type was well established already in the παιδικὸς ἔρως laments of Theognis, Alcaeus and Anacreon; see Murgatroyd 1977. See also Cic. *Tusc.* 4.70–1 (further on which, see next n.) and Watson *ad Epod.* 11.4.

259–71 The portrayal of a lover conversing before his girlfriend's closed door is adapted from the opening scene of Terence's *Eunuch*, where the besotted *adulescens*, Phaedria, returns with a family slave, Parmeno, to the door of a girlfriend who has just shut him out only to promptly invite him back again. In Terence's version, as here, the story opens with the lover torn between resentment and love, wondering aloud whether he should stay or go, then following with details of his girlfriend's abuse. Barsby 1999: 91 points out that Parmeno's advice to his young master is decked out in philosophical commonplaces, rhetorical tricks and contrived imagery that sound impressive without adding up to much. Despite this, the scene was commonly cited, or alluded to, as a source of serious moral instruction. In his analysis of the satirical finale of Lucretius' fourth book, Brown 1987: 136 points out that “perhaps the closest equivalent in comedy to Lucretius' psychological interpretation of erotic misery is the opening scene of Terence's *Eunuch*.”

Clearly relevant to the citational practice employed by Stertinius/Dam. here is Cic. *Tusc.* 4.76 (see previous n.), where the opening deliberation of Terence's *Eunuch* is cited within a larger disquisition on the *furor amoris* that is loaded with citations from second-century Roman drama. For the use of such dramatic citations and redramatizations in Stoic preaching and written protreptic, see esp. Lejay pp. 366–70. The same scene will later be recalled by Persius, who reaches past Terence to include the Menandrian original in his imitation of this passage at Pers. 5.161–75; see Hooley 1997: 111–14. For “intertextualité comique” as a mechanism for

moral censure in the *Satires* of Horace, see Delignon 2006: 429–520, esp. 513–18 on the figure of the *senex libidinosus* in this poem.

259–60 amator | exclusus: though lovers are frequently locked out by angry girlfriends in Roman comedy and elegy, the designation *amator exclusus* occurs only here and at Lucr. 4.1177. **qui distat** “how is he any different”? **agit ubi secum** “when he deliberates with himself” (*OLD agere* 40b).

261 quo ... arcessitus “where he was determined to go had he not been summoned.” Like the boy who wants the apple but refuses it when offered (above 258–9), the *amator* wants to return to his girlfriend’s house but refuses to do so when he is being “fetched” by her. Dam.’s words both recast and provide psychological commentary upon the lover’s query at Ter. *Eun.* 46–7 *non eam ne nunc quidem | quom accersor ultro?*

262 inuisis foribus: the doors locking him out were commonly upbraided in the lover’s lament, often part by part; see Watson *ad Epod.* 11.21–2.

263 finire dolores “put an end to my pains” suggests that he is contemplating suicide; cf. the complaint of Juturna who, as a water deity, is barred from death at Virg. *Aen.* 12.879–80 *cur mortis adempta est | condicio? possem tantos finire dolores*. See also Gaertner 2005 *ad Ov. Pont.* 1.6.41 *gladio finire dolorem*, referring to Ovid’s own thoughts of suicide, and Freudenburg 2001: 33–4 on Hor. *S.* 1.1.93 *finire laborem*, which recalls a Lucretian reference to suicide. On the lofty tone of the construction *meditari* + inf. (“eher hochsprachlich”), see Kissel *ad Pers.* 5.161–2.

264 Apart from two slight alterations (the removal of *me* and addition of *ecce* at the line-end, thus to convert the dramatist’s iambic senarius into a hexameter), the line is taken verbatim from Ter. *Eun.* 49 *exclisit, reuocat: redeam? non si me obsecrat*. Quotations so exact and extended as this are quite rare in H.; cf. next n.

265–71 “o ere ... modoque”: the slave’s seven-line response bears a close resemblance to the first seven lines of the slave’s response in the Terentian original (*Eun.* 57–63), with numerous bursts of exact and near-exact quotation (marked in italics):

*ere, quae res in se neque consilium neque modum
habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.
in amore haec omnia insunt uitia: iniuriae,
suspiciones, inimicitiae, indutiae,
bellum, pax rursum. incerta haec si tu postules
ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas
quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.*

265 seruus ... sapientior: cf. Don. Ter. *Eun.* 57: *concessum est in palliata poetis comicis seruos dominis sapientiores fingere*. **o ere:** this is the only instance of hiatus proper in the *Sermones*; cf. the so-called “prosodic” hiatus of 2.28 (see n.). For H.’s use of hiatus in solemn exclamations, see Bo, vol. III: 81, and cf. *Carm.* 1.1.2 *o et* and *Ep.* 1.19.19 *o imitatores*.

266 nec modum ... neque consilium “neither restraint nor reason” (*OLD* *modus* 6 and *consilium* 8). In Terence the phrase *modum habet* is split by the line-end (see above 265–71 n.). In being transposed to the beginning of a hexameter line, the same phrase produces an awkward and notably rare (nowhere else in Horace) elision of a pyrrhic word (~~) terminating in *-m* before a short syllable; see Müller 347, Nilsson 23–4.

267–8 bellum, | pax rursum “war, then again peace.” Dam. has reduced the *mala* “evils” of love to the last three words in Terence’s list of love’s *uitia* (“vices”). There is an awkwardness that comes of having, in essence, a one-item “list” in such a decidedly comic milieu, where descriptions of love’s *uitia* were normally drawn out to preposterous lengths to produce humorous effects, as at Plaut. *Mer.* 18–36. Lee 1987: 149 proposes that a line has fallen out after *mala*, an omission invited by haplography.

268 tempestatis prope ritu “rather like a storm” (*OLD* *ritus* 2). For the commonplace of the “storm-tossed” lover, see Murgatroyd 1995, and N–H *ad Carm.* 1.5. As a comic motif, cf. esp. the lover’s lament at Plaut. *Mos.* 161–4.

269 fluitantia: for the metaphor of irrational passions, esp. love and anger, as seething waters, see Harrison 2005.

270 nihilo plus explicet “he’d make no better sense” (trans. Rudd).

272 quid? cum “what about when ...”? (*OLD* *quis*¹ 13b; cf. 274). **Picenis:** Picenum, an area along the Adriatic coast of central Italy now known as le Marche (“The Marches”), produced apples that were highly prized; see below 4.70 n.

273 gaudes, si “you are delighted if ...” **percusti** = *percussisti*. According to Porphy. *ad loc.*, the reference is to a game played by *amantes* to bring them luck in love. The lover shot apple seeds into the air by squeezing them between his fingers. If he hit the ceiling his desires would be fulfilled. See Littlewood 1968: 157–8. **penes te es** “are you in control of yourself”? i.e. “in your right mind”? The reflexive use of *penes* in this sense is without parallel; see *OLD* *penes* 2b and *TLL* *penes* I 3b.

274 quid ... palato “what about when you flog babbling words on/with your doddering palate”? (*OLD* *ferio* 1c). It is unclear what metaphor is implied by *feris*. Palmer *ad loc.* suggests that a coin stamping metaphor may be at play (*OLD* *ferio* 5). **balba ... uerba** here refers doubly to the “baby talk” of a sweet-talking lover, as well as to the unsteady speech of extreme

old age; cf. Juv. 10.198–9. Further on senescence troped as a return to infancy, see Reckford 2002: 12, n. 14. Putnam 1973 *ad* Tib. 2.5.94.

275–6 adde ... scrutare “add bloodshed to folly and stir the fire with a sword.” The mood suddenly darkens as Dam. pulls two maxims out of thin air to warn (hyperbolically) that there is a slippery slope leading from what seems to be harmless folly to murder. **ignem gladio scrutare** reverses a famous saying of Pythagoras: πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν “don’t stir the fire with a sword,” Diog. Laert. 8.18.

276–80 Nothing is known of Marius and Hellas beyond what Stertinius/Dam. says of them here, citing their tale as a recent scandal (next n.). In what seems to have been a fit of jealousy, Marius murdered his lover, Hellas (the Gk name suggests that she was a slave or freedwoman), then committed suicide.

276 modo, inquam: the phrase is hard to construe as a grammatical component of the question that follows, and is best taken as its own highly compressed sentence: “(it happened) just recently, I tell you,” i.e. an incident of folly leading to bloodshed, described in the next two lines. Some editors construe *modo inquam* with the preceding imperative in the sense “just stir the fire with a sword, I tell you!”

278 cerritus: designates someone in a crazed state, but in an informal register that approximates such English colloquialisms as “loony” or “crackpot.” Although rare in written sources, Suet. *Aug.* 87.1–2 indicates that the term was common in everyday speech. Elsewhere in Latin poetry the term is used only by Plautus, who has it five times.

279 et sceleris damnabis eundem “only to convict the same man of a crime [sc. of murder],” i.e. to absolve Marius from the charge of madness is to convict him of murder.

280 ex more imponens cognata uocabula rebus “By applying related terms to things [i.e. naming them differently, via related terms], in accord with common practice.” The line is highly problematic. Courtney 2013a: 139 takes it as a reference to “transgressions by euphemisms,” such as those described in 1.3.49–53. Fedeli takes it as a comment on the use of rhetorically advantageous terms by advocates defending criminals in court, evincing the legal context of the preceding lines (where a distinction is made between *crimen* and *scelus*). The line can also be read as a comment on how, from a Stoic perspective, “crime” and “madness,” though separate in common usage, belong to the same semantic category, making it illogical to distinguish between them; see Muecke *ad loc.* In each case, the main difficulty concerns the meaning and appositeness of *cognata*. Taken in its normal sense, the adjective implies that the terms in question are alike/akin rather than inaccurate and unsuitable. Because the context seems to demand the latter sense, SB emends *cognata* to *non*

apta. The passage might also be taken as a riddle (concluding the section on *amor*) that invites us to supply the “cognates” in question: *amans amens*.

Stoics were wont to complain that the true meanings of words had been lost through vulgar usage, and they claimed in their paradoxes (e.g. only the wise man is king) to be reconnecting words to their true meanings; see N-H *ad Carm.* 2.2.19–21. In formulating his complaint, Stertinius/Dam. draws on the technical terminology of Stoic language theory, where words were thought to have had their true and original meanings “imposed” on them by a divine νομοθέτης, with words that sounded like them treated as “relatives” sprung from a single source; see Allen 2005 and Long 2005, and cf. Var. *L.* 5.1 *unius cuiusque uerbi naturae sint duae, a qua re et in qua re uocabulum sit impositum*. A contrasting view was held by the Epicureans, who argued for the evolutionary development of language based on instinct and *utilitas*; see Lucr. 5.1028–90, with Gale 2009 *ad loc.*, esp. 1041–3, where Lucretius debunks the Stoic notion of an original name-setter.

281 The transition to a new topic, *superstitio*, is not formally elaborated (cf. above 275–80 and 223–34 nn.), but signaled by a sudden change of register that comes with the story-initiating formula *libertinus erat, qui* “there was once a freedman who” For formulae of this type used in story-telling, see Kenney 1990 *ad Apul. Met.* 4.28.1. Among those who were considered especially prone to indulging in strange and excessive religious practices and beliefs, the most common stereotypes of the *superstitiosi* were slaves, ex-slaves, foreigners and especially old women; see below 289 n., and Gordon 2008: 89–92. On the *religio/superstitio* distinction in Rome, see B–N–P, vol. I: 214–27. On comical and satirical portrayals of the δεισιδαίμων/*superstitiosus* in antiquity, see Keulen 2003. **compita** “crossroads” refers here (via metonymy) to the small crossroads shrines (*sacella*) where the protective spirits of the neighborhood (*lares compitales*) were worshiped. The design of these shrines, and the rites that took place in and around them, were varied and often highly localized. Participation in the shrines’ activities, as well as their administration, were traditionally limited to slaves, freed slaves and poor citizens of free birth (*ingenui*); see Lott 2004: 4, 13–17, B–N–P, vol. I: 139, 184–7, and Panayotakis 2010: 206–8. On the revision of the Compital cults by Augustus, see Gradel 2002: 116–39. **siccus** “sober” has been taken to imply that the man was acting crazed, *as if* he were drunk, even though it was the crack of dawn and he had not been drinking. But the evidence of Schol. Pers. 4.28 suggests that Dam. may be striving for a rather silly and strained *figura etymologica* based on the idea that the crossroads were, by their etymological definition, a place for heavy drinking: *compita ... proprie a compotando, id est simul bibendo*.

282 lautis ... manibus: refers to the practice of washing one's hands before raising them in prayer toward the gods; cf. *CIL* VI, 32340 describing the officiant's announcement of the Arval Brothers' sacrifice to Dea Dia: *ille mag. manibus lautis capite velato sub divo contra orientem sacrificium indixit deae Diae sic*. The superstitious man (δεισιδαίμων) of Theophr. *Char.* 16 is characterized by an excessive concern with ritual washing (the sketch actually begins, as here, with a reference to hand-washing), and the fourth trait by which he is characterized is an inability to walk past a crossroads shrine without offering a prayer and sacrifice.

283–4 surpīte: is a syncopated form of *surripīte* “remove by stealth” (*OLD* s.v. 2). With the colorful verb, the freedman is rhetorically padding his case, pointing out to the *Lares Compitales* that were they to snatch “just one man ... only one” from death, it would be no big deal (*quid tam magnum?*), and death would surely not notice a theft as slight as that.

284–5 sanus ... oculis “ears healthy, both of them, both eyes sound.” The language is that of a checklist gone over between seller and buyer prior to the slave's sale. Roman law forbade the dumping of defective slaves on unsuspecting buyers (see next n.).

286 exciperet: the seller of a slave was required, by law, to disclose any known defects by naming them as “exceptions” to an overall guarantee of sound physical and mental health; cf. the legal exception slipped in by the slave-seller cajoling a potential buyer at Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.16 *excepta nihil te si fuga laedit*. For an example of a relevant slave-sale contract with a standard checklist of exceptions, see the text and trans. of *P. Turner* 22 in Llewelyn 2001: 48–55. **hoc quoque uulgu** “this next mob as well” points ahead to the type exemplified by the deranged mother of lines 288–92.

287 Chrysippus (see poem intro. above) was well known in antiquity as a prolific inventor of ingenious but unbelievable etymologies, such as the one tendered by Dam. at the end of this line, which carries Chrysippus' signature “free-associating” style. On Chrysippus the etymologist, see esp. the “hostile witnesses” cited by Allen 2005: 14, n. 1, and Plut. *Mor.* 31e. **fecunda in gente Meneni** “in the fecund family of Mr. Loon.” Porph. *ad loc.* suggests that *M[a]nenius* was a madman of H.'s day, but this is hard to credit as there is no evidence for a crazed Menenius of any note from this period, or any other. It seems more likely that Dam. is straining for an etymological pun connecting one of Rome's oldest family names (the *gens Menenia*) to Gk μάινωμαι “be driven mad,” as was proposed by Münzer (Menenius [3], *RE* 29, p. 839.), or to Gk μήνη “moon,” and thus to notions of madness and lunacy. Dam.'s point could have been easily made, albeit without the benefit of a strained etymology, via reference to the *gens Furia* or *gens Maenia*. On Roman names used as puns in late Republican invective, see Corbeill 1996: 57–98.

The *gens Menenia* was an old patrician family, most famously represented by Menenius Agrippa, the wise consular senator who negotiated the return of the Roman soldiers from the *Mons Sacer* in 494 BCE by telling them the fable of the limbs and the belly; cf. 7.108–9 n. The family slipped into plebeian status in the early fourth century BCE, and fell into oblivion soon thereafter; see Münzer *RE* 29, p. 838. The family's dying out adds ironic point to Dam.'s designation of it as "prolific," i.e. though famously withered as an actual family, the clan of the Loons was gaining new members by the hour.

288–95 The mother makes a formal vow, using the traditional, contractual language of a Roman "if ... then" prayer; for relevant examples, see Johnston 2004: 344–5. But the specific terms of her prayer suggest that she is not praying to Jupiter as he was known and prayed to by most Romans of the late first century BCE. Rather, by praying as she does, she is marked as an adherent of a foreign religion, most likely a Jew who is praying to a monotheistic Yahweh under the name of Jupiter. The tell-tale signs of the woman's foreign *superstitio* include: (1) her presuming to pray to Jupiter (rather than to, say, Asclepius, or even to *Febris*, who also had a temple in Rome) as a god concerned with healing a child's fever, and her addressing him as the one who "giveth and taketh away" (Job 1:21) "great afflictions" (Psalm 34:19), as if that was what Jupiter was known to be concerned with, and to do; (2) her presuming to think that "Jupiter" would, as a matter of course, either demand or be pleased by a quasi-baptismal washing in the Tiber river to fulfill a vow, rather than by a votive tablet, a monetary payment, the burning of incense, or some other kind of standard ritual sacrifice, e.g. the sacrifice of a bull; and esp. (3) the reference to a specific required day of fasting, designated as such by Jupiter himself (see below 291 n.). There was no such day on the Roman calendar. For a summary of the evidence that the woman who speaks the prayer is a Jew, see Lejay and Fedeli *ad loc.* For Varro's assertion, much quoted by Augustine, that there was no difference (*nihil interesse*) between Jove and the god of the Jews, see Var. *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* fr. 48 Condemi, and further citations in Stern 1974: 209–10.

289 mater: Cic. *N.D.* 2.72 proposes an etymological connection between *superstitio* and a parent's incessant prayers for a child's survival: *ut sibi sui liberi superstites essent superstitiosi sunt appellati*. But cf. two further etymologies proposed by Servius *ad Aen.* 8.187 *uana superstitio*, the first of which has to do with the mental decrepitude of extremely old women: *ab aniculis dicta superstitio, quia multae superstites per aetatem delirant et stultae sunt*. Pers. 2.31–40 seems to mix both ideas in featuring a worried crone praying to the gods for a child's safety and success. The idea that women, especially old women, were predisposed to superstition was widespread

in both Greece and Rome; see above 281 n., and Bion fr. 30 Kindstrand; cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2.70, *Tusc.* 3.72, Juv. 6.522–91. On Jews in Rome see Gruen 2004. On their representation in H., see Gowers *ad* 1.4.42–3. **cubantis** “bedridden,” *OLD* s.v. 1c.

290 quartana: the quartan fever (= malaria) causes one first to shiver with cold, then to burn with a high fever, with intense paroxysms recurring every 72 hours. Thus, by way of inclusive reckoning, the Romans named it the “every fourth day” fever. At Cic. *N.D.* 3.24–5 the dialogue’s Epicurean spokesman, Cotta, insists against his Stoic counterpart, Balbus, that the explanation for the strange regularity of the fever’s attacks had to be sought in the workings of nature, not explained in terms of divine calculation.

291 tu indicis “you yourself decree,” *OLD* *indico*² 3a. The claim would sound odd to tradition-minded Romans, for whom decrees concerning ritual observances came not directly from the gods themselves, but from priests and other religious experts who were tasked with interpreting their will; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2. 527–8. The gnomic present suggests that the fasting day in question is to be thought of as a requirement regularly observed. It may therefore refer to an actual weekly, monthly, or even yearly fast observed by the Jews, or by a certain sect of Roman Jews, in the late first century BCE, or to a fast observed after the passing of a ritually polluting disease; cf. Lev. 16:29 instituting the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur): “in the seventh, on the tenth day, you shall go without eating.” Or it may refer to none of these, functioning rather as a stereotyping detail tossed in by Sterinius/Dam. as his scornful way of characterizing exotic Jewish behavior, here in tandem with a recuperating child’s full, shivering immersion in a river, and an oddly meddlesome Jupiter who stipulates detailed purification requirements from on high.

292–3 leuarit: i.e. *si leuarit*. The verb is often found in medical contexts in the metaphorical sense “make well” (*OLD* *levo*¹ 7), but here the “lifting” idea from which the metaphor derives is put back into play by the prepositional phrase *ex praecipiti* at the end of the sentence: “should chance or the doctor lift the sick boy from the precipice,” i.e. from the brink of death.

294 fixum “frozen stiff,” *OLD* *figo* 7a.

295 quone: when attached to an interrogative adjective, *-ne* is redundant; see *OLD* *-ne* 1b, and cf. 317 n.

296 sapientum octauus: the canonical Seven Wise Men (οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοί) of Archaic Greece are first named by Plato *Prt.* 343a–b, where Socrates remarks that the hallmark of their perfect wisdom was “a certain laconic brevity” (βραχυλογία τις Λακωνική) that enabled them to condense the sum of their vast learning into pithy *sententiae*. According to a legend accepted (ironically?) by Socrates, it was these seven wise men who dedicated the

seven famous maxims that hung in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, including “know thyself” and “nothing too much.” To propose making the prolix Stertinius a member of this group is completely absurd. He lacks the one outstanding quality that membership in such a group demands: concision. Further on the legend of the Seven Wise Men, see Parke 1956, vol. I: 387–9. Their maxims are parodied on a fresco painted high on the walls of the so-called “Baths of the Seven Sages” at Ostia, where the philosophers are depicted enthroned on latrines, issuing wise advice to the latrine-users who go about their business below; see *L'Année épigraphique* 1941: 6–7.

The one other extant reference to an eighth sage being added to the canonical seven is Callim. fr. 587 Pfeiffer: “Greetings to you, seven sages – the eighth sage, since he’s Coroebus, we don’t reckon in.” For the unassigned fragment’s several difficulties of grammar and construal, see d’Alessio 1996, vol. II: 738. Apparently, some highly touted thinker of Callimachus’ day is targeted under the name of Coroebus, a legendary dunce of Greek mythology. *amico* is spoken to impress, and nearly causal in sense: “to me ... [seeing that I’m] his friend.”

297 ne compellarer inultus “so that I won’t be pummeled by insults without taking my revenge.” For *compellare* in this sense, cf. [Acro] *ad loc.*: *compellare est iniuriōse alloqui quemlibet*, and TLL III 2028, lines 78ff.

298 totidem: Stertinius/Dam. threatens to deliver “just as many” insults in return for those that have been directed at him.

299 ignoto “ignorant” (*OLD* s.v. 4) is displaced from the person to his back (hypallage). **pendentia**: keen-eyed in spying the vices of others, Dam.’s imagined assailer cannot see the vices that hang from his own back. Ancient moralists developed an impressive repertoire of analogies to convey this “log in one’s own eye” idea, with several versions figuring vice as something that hangs unseen behind one’s back. Among these, the most prominent figures were: (1) the sheep that cannot see its own tail (above 53 n.); (2) the ass that sees another animal’s pack, but not his own (Pers. 4.24); and (3) the man fitted with two sacks of vices, with the vices of others attached to his front, and his own vices hidden away behind him; on the last of these (= Aesop’s fable of the two sacks), see [Acro] *ad loc.* and Zago 2010. It is not clear which, if any, specific figure is most relevant here. For the full range of possibilities, see Oberg 2000: 180–1. It is also possible that Stertinius/Dam. is referring to an ancient practical joke that involved surreptitiously hanging something silly on someone’s back; cf. the wagging white ears of Pers. 1.59, and the modern Italian tradition of the *pesce d’Aprile*.

300 sic: sets a condition (*quid pro quo*) on a subsequent wish: “may you thus [sc. by answering me the following] sell all for a profit after your financial loss”; see Elden 1900: 111, and N–H *ad Carm.* 1.3.1 *sic te diua potens*.

301 qua me stultitia = *quo stultitiae genere*. Now that Dam. has finished describing folly's five types, H. wants to know to which of these categories he himself belongs.

303–4 Agaue: the queen of Thebes who, upon being driven mad by Bacchus, led a throng of frenzied Theban women to dismember Pentheus, her son (himself equally crazed, see above 133 n.). The most famous version of the tale is that of Euripides' *Bacchae*, originally staged in Athens in 405 BCE. In the play's final scene Agave returns to her senses to realize that the head she holds in her hands is not that of a freshly slain panther, but that of her son. This scene of the crazed mother's slow realization was replayed as the finale of Accius' *Bacchae* in the late second century BCE, and Pacuvius' *Pentheus* (see next n.) probably included the scene as well. Romans of the first century BCE would have been much more familiar with these plays as things taught in the schools and subsequently restaged, than with the famous play of Euripides. On the opulent revivals of classic second-century tragedies in the last decades of the Roman Republic, see Goldberg 1996.

303 abscisum "cut off" has superior support in the MSS, but is frequently rejected in favor of *abscissum* "torn off," which is a better match for the famous tale of Pentheus' *sparagmos* at the hands of his mother, as told by Euripides and later recalled by Ov. *Met.* 3.701–33 (*avulsum caput*, 727). But MacKay 1970 points out that "it is only with Euripides that Agave becomes the major agent of destruction" for Pentheus, and that in many of the visual representations of his death that have survived from antiquity Agave is shown with a sword in one hand, Pentheus' head in the other. In Pacuvius' *Pentheus* (see previous n.), according to the lengthy précis of the play that is related by Servius at *Aen.* 4.469, the maenads tore Pentheus limb from limb (*discerpserunt*), but first Agave cut off his head as a hunter would remove the head of a slain beast to preserve as a trophy. Further on the radical remaking of the traditional Pentheus by Euripides, see Kalke 1985.

305 liceat concedere ueris "let me give in to the truth" is spoken with mock humility, as if H. has been beaten by the superior dialectical skills of Dam. Lewis–Short *concedo* I.2.d posits a connection between the phrase as used here and Gk συγχωρεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.

306 edissere "expound point by point." The grandiloquent term helps effect a mock-deferential tone by casting H. as the self-effacing student in need of an expert's full and detailed instruction.

307 uitio: for moral "vice" (*OLD* s.v. 4) figured as a bodily "disorder" (*OLD* s.v. 2b), see poem intro. above and 213 n.; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.28. **accipe:** see 233 n.

308 aedificas: refers to building work being done at the poet's newly acquired Sabine villa, where the poem is set. The verb serves a deictic

function by pointing H. (and thereby the reader) back to the surroundings where the poem began, as if to say “just look at what’s going on *right here!*” The exact nature of the poet’s building activity is unspecified, but Dam. treats it as the physical “symptom” of a moral disease: a failure on H.’s part to properly assess, and keep within, himself (see below). On *aedificatio* deplored as self-indulgence by Roman moralists, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 4; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 101.4 where the fool’s undertaking to build a house is chastised as a failure to reckon with his own mortality.

As if to indicate that H. suffers from an especially tricky and insidious disease, Dam. here abandons his favored *topoi* of *luxuria*, *ambitio*, etc. for the more complex terrain of Panaetian ethics. According to the four-*personae* theory of Panaetius (a second-century Stoic philosopher who spent much of his career in Rome), to live an honorable life one had to correctly assess and hew to the “roles” (*personae*) one had been assigned, with the proper “fit” of a man to his roles constituting *decorum* “what is fitting” = Gk τὸ πρέπον. The third of his four *personae* Panaetius defined as the role imposed on the individual by matters of chance, such as by the social position into which one was born. It is in this category that Dam. finds H. wanting in *decorum*: by building on a grand scale, H. fails to act the part he was assigned by being born the son of a freed slave (and a short one at that, see next n.).

The remains of Panaetius’ philosophical writings are few and fragmentary, but his ethical theory of *decorum* is fully delineated by Cicero in book 1 of his *de Officiis*. Esp. relevant to the charge leveled against H. by Dam. is *Off.* 1.140, where, in concluding a larger discussion of the need to “fit” the dwelling to the man, Cicero cautions against trying to keep up with Rome’s leading men by building a home too magnificent for oneself: *cauendum autem est, praesertim si ipse aedifices, ne extra modum sumptu et magnificentia prodeas ... studiose enim plerique praesertim in hanc partem facta principum imitantur*. On the four-*personae* theory of Panaetius, see Gill 1988 and Long and Sedley 1987: 424, 427–8. On the specific influence of Panaetius’ theory of *decorum* on the ethical and stylistic theories of Horace *Epistles* book 1, see McGann 1969: 10–20 (esp. 20 n. 4), Moles 1985: 33, n. 3, and Fowler 2008: 99–102. *longos* “tall” (*OLD* s.v. 3), as if to say: “stubby as you are, Horace, you mustn’t get big ideas.” This is to take a comically literalist approach to Panaetius’ idea that one should measure one’s pursuits by the measure of oneself; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.110, Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.98, with Mayer *ad loc.*, Juv. 11.35.

309 moduli bipedalis “of a two-foot measure.” To emphasize H.’s diminutive stature, Dam. uses a word for “measure” that is itself a diminutive, besides referring to a tool regularly used by architects and carpenters

in building a home. **et idem** “and yet, at the same time, you ...” For this usage, see *OLD idem* 10, and cf. 7.23 below.

310 Turbonis: according to Porph. *ad loc.*, “Tornado” was a short but spirited gladiator of H.’s day.

311 incessum “gait” (*OLD* s.v. 1b) here implies “swagger.” **ridiculus:** sc. *es*.

312 Maecenas had himself recently built a luxurious, turreted home on the Esquiline hill that towered high above the city; see Wiseman 2016, Watson *ad Epod.* 9.3–4, N–R on Maecenas’ “skyscraper” *ad Carm.* 3.29.9–10. **te quoque uerum est** “is it honest for you (to do it [sc. *id facere*]) as well”? For *uerum* in the Panaetian sense “morally truthful” or “honest,” cf. *Ep.* 1.7.98.

313 tantum: is adverbial with *dissimilem*, “so hugely dissimilar”; see above 147 n. **tanto** is abl. of measure. **minorem** here takes a prolativ or “adnominal” infinitive, in imitation of Gk ἥσσων + inf.: “so far beneath (not up to) contending with him,” sc. *cum illo*. For the daring construction, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 7.5 *et cantare pares*, and see L–H–S 350–1.

314–20 As if condescending to the small and silly child whom he imagines H. to be, Dam. casts his final lesson to him in the form of a talking animal fable, told in simple words (none more than three syllables) and in a straightforward narrative style. According to Quint. *Inst.* 1.9.2, first among the *progymnasmata* “preliminary exercises” set by the *grammatici* in Roman primary schools was the task of retelling Aesop’s fables in a simple, natural style in keeping with the characters and circumstances of the story; see Bonner 1977: 254–6.

Though “Aesopic” in origin, the tale of the *rana rupta* is recorded for the first time here. While Babrius 28 corresponds more closely in its details to the version told here by Dam., Phaedr. 1.24 attaches to it the specific moral that Dam. clearly has in mind: *inops potentem dum uult imitari perit*. For a fuller comparison of these versions, see Rudd 1966: 176–8, and cf. Mart. *Ep.* 10.79 where Martial makes reference to the same fable to describe the rival efforts of two men building new villas for themselves.

314 pullis ... pede pressis: one hears the tiny frogs being stomped.

315 denarrat, ut “he tells the whole story of how.”

316 belua “monster” gives a frog’s-eye view of the calf; cf. 6.105 n. **rogare:** the historical infinitive is used to narrate a chaotic situation in outline, providing only the barest details; cf. below 6.113–14 (see n.).

317 quantane: see above 295 n. **tantum ... magna** “big this much” is colloquial for *tam magna* “so big”; cf. above 147 n., and below 5.80 *tantum ... studiosa*.

320 multum abludit “differ much from” (lit. “play far from”). The verb is a hapax, apparently invented on analogy with *alludit* “make mocking allusion to.” **imago** “image.” The fable is here regarded as a verbal mirror

image that reflects back to H. the absurdity of his own self-inflation; cf. the fable of the trapped weasel at *Ep.* 1.7.34 *hac ego si compellor imagine*. Such usage (*imago* referring to “fable”) is apparently unique to H.; see van Dijk 1997: 90–5.

321 poemata: as his final proof of the poet’s insanity Dam. offers in evidence the “poems” themselves. Other than to question whether they actually merit the designation (*S.* 1.4.63 *alias iustum sit necne poema*), H. nowhere uses the term *poema* to designate his conversational *Sermones*. **oleum adde camino:** the saying was common (Porph. *ad loc.*), and existed in several forms; see Otto 253, s.v. *oleum* 2.

322 sanus facis et tu: the backhanded compliment (= “here for once you are sane”) carries a satiric sting, dubbing H. sane in the one activity where he should most want to be considered mad; cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.194. For the Greek background of the idea, see Tigerstedt 1970.

323–5 Dam.’s parting accusations against the poet’s “horrible rage” (*rabies*) and his “mad passions” (*furores*) for young lovers by the thousands, though largely out of keeping with the poet’s personal traits as specified in the *Sermones* themselves (irascibility is a key feature of H.’s comic characterization in poem 7 below; see esp. 7.1–2, 116), are curiously on target for the iconic roles he will play in his *Epodes* and *Odes* respectively (see the intro. to this poem above).

323 non dico “not to mention” is a standard formula of *praeteritio* much used by Cicero.

324 maiorem censu. teneas: Morgan 1994a: 29 points out that the words constitute a cryptogram that names the man responsible for the good life that H. now lives, well beyond his means: *maio rem censu teneas*.

326 o maior ... minori: as if finally undone, desperate and brought to his knees, H. sinks into the language of supplication: “oh please, you being so much the greater man, please at long last spare me, the lesser.” But the insertion of the vocative *insane* one word from the last turns the parting surrender into an insult (“you being the greater ... madman”).

SATIRE 4

In the previous poem, the poet was burst in upon by Damasippus, his Stoic interlocutor, then scolded for backsliding and forced to listen to a lengthy memorized speech. In this poem, the situation (in imitation of Plato’s *Phaedrus*, see 1 n.) is reversed: it is the poet who intrudes upon Catius (hereafter Cat.), an Epicurean interlocutor, detaining him as he rushes off to write down the contents of a lecture that he has just heard. Instead of being forced to listen to the speech, H. must plead with Cat. to divulge the contents of the lecture and name its author. Unlike Damasippus, Cat.

refuses to divulge the author's name, which he guards with quasi-religious zeal (11 n.), and he keeps his lecture relatively short: 74 lines of memorized content for Cat. versus 218 for Damasippus. The contents of the two poems are in stark contrast as well, the one dwelling on troubles of the human soul, the other on the body's pleasures and its many troubles (flagging appetite, constipation, etc.). The poetic styles through which these ideas are conveyed are themselves radically at odds: one old-fashioned, rambling and loose, the other polished, restrained and avant-garde (see below). Damasippus loads his speech with references to epic and tragedy, often (like a madman) conversing with the heroes themselves (see the intro. essay of poem 3). There are no references to epic or tragedy in Cat.'s lecture. Not a single hero of myth is mentioned.

The contrasts between the poems are many, striking and deliberate. Yet more could be added. That the two poems lend themselves to being read as a contrasting pair was clear already to Porphyrio, who notes on line 1: *quo modo in proxima Stoicos, ita in hac Epicureos irrisurus est*. Taken together, these contrasts establish Damasippus and Cat. as opposite kinds of zealots who are as alike in being extreme and having no sense of themselves as they are unlike in the beliefs they espouse, and the styles through which they convey those beliefs. Each man is committed in the whole of his being to his own particular cause. For both Damasippus and Cat., the style really *is* the man in a deep sense, because each man's philosophical convictions affect the entirety of his character, right down to the way Damasippus wears his beard, and the way Cat. strains his wine.

Without intending to do so, both Damasippus and Cat. trivialize the teachings of their sects by overdoing them, and having no sense of themselves. Damasippus in poem 3 is a caricature of the overblown and shaggy Stoic, just as Cat. in this poem is a caricature of an effete Epicurean, devoted to sumptuous parties, fine foods and wines. To put this differently, Damasippus is a Stoic as parodied/looked down upon by the Epicureans, and Cat. is an Epicurean as parodied/looked down upon by the Stoics. To see Cat. in particular sported with in this way is, at first glance, rather surprising: H. was himself, if not an avowed Epicurean, deeply sympathetic to Epicurean ideas, and extremely well versed in Epicurean doctrine. In his depiction of Cat. we see him playing along with some of the standard put-downs of his own sect.¹² But this tendency to hold his own convictions and obsessions at arm's length is a key feature of H.'s signature irony not only

¹² The idea is vigorously opposed by Palmer in his introduction to the poem: "it is a mistake, I think, to suppose that the Epicurean sect is ridiculed by Horace in the satire ... Horace himself was an Epicurean at this time." Compare Classen

in his satires, but throughout his works more generally. As Hardie 2009: 181 points out in reference to H.'s simultaneous attraction to, and distance from, the voice and vision of Lucretius: "In the case of Horace the alternation between an investment in a Lucretian earnestness and a belittling of that earnestness turns out to be a key locus of Horace's hallmark irony." Whether as an approach to life or as a mode of comportment, dogma and certitude do not suit H. On those occasions when he doffs "knowing authority" as his mien, H. always manages to look somewhat off, dressed in clothes that are a clunky (and somewhat laughable) fit.

There is no such self-awareness, and not a hint of self-irony, in Cat. He is deeply enthralled by the Epicurean tenets just taught to him by his secret mentor, and he lards Lucretian language, imagery and passion into his teachings throughout his lecture – in fact, the poem is an important document in the early history of the reception of Lucretius, deserving further study (see various Lucretian connections made by Classen 1978, Ferri 1993, Courtney 2013a, and nn. below at 1, 2, 11, 46, 57, 58, 63, 64, 73–5, 90, 94–5). By letting Cat. hold forth in such silly and affected ways about the unparalleled importance of trivial things (wine-strainers, napkins, etc.), H. holds his own Epicurean commitments at arm's length, indicating that he knows exactly how silly he and "his people" often sound, or can be made to sound.

The question of Cat.'s identity is vexed. In a jocular letter to Cassius of Jan. 45 (*Fam.* 15.16), Cicero makes fun of the optic theory espoused by a recently deceased Epicurean named Catius, focusing on the inappropriateness of his translation of Epicurus' εἰδωλα ("images") as *spectra* ("specters"). Returning tit for tat, Cassius writes back (*Fam.* 15.19) that he will throw so many "clodhopping Stoics" (*rusticos Stoicos*) back at Cicero in his next letter that Cicero will be forced to declare Catius Athenian born (i.e. Catius' bad rendering of Greek into Latin will seem impeccable by comparison). Cassius goes on to class Catius, with his unfortunate *spectra* (the word appears nowhere else in Latin outside of these two letters), among the "bad translators of terms" (*mali uerborum interpretes*) that were once used by Epicurus. Although clearly aware of Catius' chequered reputation, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.124 finds a way to include Catius on his list of Roman philosophers whom he deems worth reading, saying that "among Epicureans Catius was a light-weight, and yet he was not an unpleasant writer." Porph. *ad* 2.4.1 says that Catius wrote *quattuor libros de rerum natura et de summo bono*. No mention is made of any culinary interests on Catius'

1978: 346: "Horace was an Epicurean himself ... but there is no reason why he should not have criticized other Epicureans whom he regarded as misguided."

part. Commenting on line 47, the ancient scholiasts that have been collected under the name “commentator Cruquianus” mention a certain Catius Miltiades as the writer of a cookbook *de opera pistoria* (“on baked goods”). Thus we have, on the one hand, the Epicurean Catius mentioned by Cicero, Cassius, Quintilian and Porphyrio, dead in 45 BCE, having left no trace of any culinary interests, and a second Catius who is alleged to have written a cookbook, but is not known to have been an Epicurean. Orelli proposed that the cookbook writer (Catius Miltiades) was a freedman of Cicero’s Catius – this could well be right, but we can never know. In his introduction to the poem, Palmer argues that H. disguises a famous food artisan of the late first century BCE, C. Matius, under the name Catius.

We cannot know who the Catius of this poem actually was, or if he existed at all. As pointed out by Gowers 1993: 141 the name’s ambiguity, in the end, is advantageous in that it allows readers to think of culinary enthusiasts and a known Epicurean philosopher at the same time. No person who combined these interests is known to have existed in H.’s real world, but that is exactly the Catius we encounter in this poem: an expert (“Mr. Clever Sauce”: *catus* “clever” + *ius* “sauce”; for other punning possibilities, see Gowers 1993: 141–2) who conveys his cooking advice in the language of Epicurean didactic, convinced that good cooking is an art attuned to, and expressive of, the *rerum natura* (see 41, 52–3, 57, 77 nn.). One sees similar universalizing convictions espoused by the braggart cooks of Middle and New Comedy, many of whom connect their recipes and cooking insights to the teachings of philosophers, especially Epicurus (see Dohm 1964: 163–9, Classen 1978: 340–1). The clearest analogue to Catius, in this regard, is the cook of Damoxenus’ “Foster Brothers,” from the early third century BCE. In a large fragment of the play preserved by Athenaeus (Ath. 3.102–103b = Damoxenus fr. 2 K-A), the cook begins by declaring himself a student of Epicurus, at whose side he claims to have studied for nearly three years. When asked by his interlocutor what it is that makes a cook a cook, he says that “Nature is the source of origin of every art” (ἡ φύσις πάσης τέχνης ἀρχέγονόν ἐστ’), and he declares “uneducated” (ἀγράμματον) any cook who has not read Democritus and Epicurus. He goes on to declare that a cook must keep track of the seasons, the rising and setting of constellations, and so on, in order to know when certain kinds of fish will be at their best. Talk of digestion and humors elicits a comment from his interlocutor that the cook seems to be familiar with the art of medicine as well, to which the cook replies “as is anyone who is keyed into Nature” (καὶ πᾶς ὁ φύσεως ἐντός). Later in his speech, the cook compares the well-orchestrated meal to a musical work structured in four or five parts, with all the separate dishes arranged in a harmonious mix (βρωμ’, ἀλλὰ μείζας πάντα κατὰ συμφωνίαν).

For Cat., just as for his comic counterpart in Damoxenus, cooking is no mere “flair” for preparing and serving tasty things. It is a science, universal in its scope. It is connected to medicine, astronomy and other technical skills because it is based on the fundamental principles of nature that give rise to all things. To know how to cook is to know the workings of the stars above and the insides of the human body because all disciplinary truths are informed by the same fundamental reality as particular aspects of that reality. For Cat. (this is also true for Nasidienus in poem 8 below), a well-seasoned sauce is not just a clever concoction, it is a *ius naturale*: a ramification of *natura* herself.

The foods that Cat. gushes over in this poem are not rare or exotic in themselves, nor do they violate good taste (see Anderson 1982: 45). Like many a modern food expert, committed to organic, farm-to-table, foraged and fermented foods, etc., Cat. holds humble farm fare in very high regard. He begins in verses 11–19 with eggs, cabbages and chicken, foods that the Elder Cato himself would heartily commend. Cat.’s enthusiasms for these unassuming foods has no obvious analogue in the braggart cooks of comedy, or in the recipes of [Apicius], or in Archestratus, whose unique mock-didactic work is concerned principally with expensive luxury foods. Rather, Cat.’s closest counterpart in this regard is the Elder Cato himself, Rome’s most famous advocate of farm fare. Poking serious fun at himself, and as a means of self-congratulation, Cato spoke of cabbages and turnips in the all-knowing and rhapsodic ways that others used to extol the glories of fine wines and rare fish. Speaking as a prettified “Epicurean” Cato, Cat. waxes enthusiastic about some of the same humble foods that Cato had lauded as wholesome and morally iconic, but he insists that these foods are to be selected, harvested and/or prepared in extremely fussy ways: not just any old chicken, he insists, but one that has been drowned alive in diluted Falernian wine; cabbages raised in dry conditions, watered sparsely by rain falling from the sky rather than “washed out” by artificial methods of irrigation; roasted boar from the highlands of Umbria rather than one hunted in the lowlands nearby. And so on. For the Elder Cato, cabbages and turnips were expressions of simple needs and desires properly moderated. He valued them because they were traditional foods that kept Roman farmers on their feet and morally fit. The idea that these foods needed to be sorted through and fussed over for their micro qualities and natural intonations would have struck him as frivolous and depraved. For his part, Cato never met a cabbage that he did not regard as a miracle food (see Hanson 2006: 508).

Unlike Damasippus, his Stoic counterpart in the previous poem, Cat. is short-spoken, packing lots of meaning into a small space. His style of

speech is meticulous to the point of being noticeably affected: nouvelle cuisine expressed in a nouvelle style. His verse-technique is that of a neoteric who wants to flaunt his Catullan credentials; see Freudenburg 1996. Among the most pronounced of his many compositional affectations is his penchant for matching a significant pause in sense with the metrical pause at the line-end (e.g. seven consecutive such lines at 30–6). This keeps the pace slow and regular, and it causes one to notice Cat.’s meticulous manner of speech, and to hear his *sermo* as individual lines of verse rather than as mere random “talk.” To further slow things down, and to lend grandeur and weight to his pronouncements, Cat. makes frequent use of the so-called “Catullan molossus,” e.g. in three consecutive lines at 80–2 (see n.). But perhaps his most pronounced compositional tic is his penchant to lead with an emphatic adjective at, or near, the front of the line, then drop in the awaited noun either near, or at, the end of the verse (hyperbaton). One sees this in six out of the seven lines at 50–6.

Damasippus is fast and messy, Cat. slow and fussy. Other than in short bursts of parody, one way or the other, elsewhere in his hexameters H. tends to mix just enough of the messy with the meticulous to achieve a style that is varied and pliable: inspired “natural” exuberance (*ingenium*), artfully restrained (*ars*). On the blend of old and new (“the Homeric and the Alexandrian”) in versification as one of the hallmarks of the Augustan poetic revolution, see Wilkinson 1963: 193–201. Gowers 1993: 143 points out that Cat.’s gastronomic system “uses the same terms of seasoning, scale, and texture that Horace himself prescribes for writing satire,” and to prove the point she offers several pages of evidence by setting some of Cat.’s fussiest pronouncements alongside H.’s own programmatic assertions. Quite often, Gowers makes clear, the two men sound terribly alike.

As indicated by H. in S. 1.1.69–70 (*quid rides? mutato nomine de te | fabula narratur*) and recalled by Persius in his first hexameter satire (see the intro. to poem 8 below), H.’s satiric jibes tend to inflict a good deal of collateral damage via the laughter they elicit, because they touch on basic moral and behavioral flaws that many share. Cat. exposes himself to criticism by exaggerating the importance of what he has to say. But he is an easy and obvious target of this satire, and perhaps not even the main one. As Gowers’ analysis of Cat.’s culinary and stylistic pronouncements makes clear, in poking fun at Cat., H. does not leave himself, or his fellow poets, unscathed. Chief among those finicky Epicurean friends of the poet who might find his own enthusiasms (poetic, culinary and otherwise) swept up by the poem and exposed to critical view is Maecenas, an Epicurean enthusiast of fine foods and wines, and a proud maven of style, notoriously refined and demanding in his tastes. As Classen 1978: 343 points

out, there is a long history of identifying Cat.'s unnamed *auctor* not only with H. himself, but with Maecenas (along with many others). In the end, if Cat. refuses to divulge the identity of the godlike person behind his precepts for "rich, pampered/blessed" living (see 95 n.), it is because H. has chosen to let that question dangle: rather than close off the possibilities for "who" this satire is about, by naming the man behind the veil, H. leaves readers to wonder "who all" it might be about by leaving the question unanswered.

1 Vnde et quo "where from, and where to"? recalls the first words of Plato's *Phaedrus* "O Phaedrus, my friend, where to and where from"? (*Phd.* 227α). Cat.'s recitation of the precepts he has just heard is reminiscent of Phaedrus' enthusiastic citation of Lysias' discourse on love; as Platonic parody, see Prowse 1963 and Hunter 2012: 10–11. **auenti** "eagerly desiring" c. inf. Ferri 1993: 47–8 points out that the verb, somewhat archaic, and elevated in style, appears nowhere in Virgil, but is frequent in Lucretius. He shows that in three of six total uses in H., the verb carries strong reminders of passages in Lucretius. Here the reference is to *Lucr.* 3.6 *quod te imitari aueo* (see next n.).

2 ponere signa "write down notes" (*OLD signum* 3e). The phrase recalls *Lucr.* 3.3–4, where Lucretius expresses an ardent desire (see prev. n.) to follow in the footsteps of Epicurus: *te sequor, o Graiae gentis decus, inque tuis nunc | ficta pedum pono pressis uestigia signis*. Showing the same enthusiasm for the teachings of his unnamed philosopher, Cat. is anxious to write down the key points of the "new rules" he has heard before he forgets them. For *signa* referring to notes taken down as "reminders," cf. *Gel.* 17.7.5; cf. also *Plat. Phd.* 275a, where Socrates claims that written "marks" (τύποι) are a "potion for reminding rather than for remembering" (οὐκ οὐκ μνήμης ἀλλ' ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον). **uincant**: more decisive than *uincant*, the future tense suggests the enthusiastic certainty of a zealot.

3 Pythagoran ... Platona: the solemn line features alliteration and internal rhyme. Each impressive name is set off by its own metrical pause (caesurae after *Pythagoran* and *Anytique reum*, and a line-end diaeresis, given extra emphasis by strong punctuation, after *Platona*) that affords a moment for individual admiration. The list sets up expectations for what follows by suggesting that Cat. is deeply invested in issues of moral and political philosophy. Only in line 12 do we begin to realize that the *noua praecepta* he has heard concern food and fine dining, not serious philosophy. **Anytique reum** "the man prosecuted by Anytus" refers to Socrates, whose name (a cretic) does not fit the hexameter; cf. 1.17 and *Ov. Tr.* 5.12.12 *Anytique ... reo*. Anytus was one of several accusers in the trial that resulted in a death sentence for Socrates.

4–5 cum ... interpellarim “since I’ve caught you at such an awkward time.” **laeuo**: the epithet is transferred from H., who has been “awkward” in his timing, to the time itself. For the adjective meaning “awkward/clumsy,” see Cucchiarelli *ad Virg. Ecl.* 1.16 and cf. LSJ σκαίος III.

5 des: a jussive subjunctive. For the independent construction, in parataxis with *oro* “please,” see *OLD* s.v. 1f and *OLS* 354. **bonus** here serves the function of an adverb (“kindly”).

6–7 The lines stand out for their metrical irregularities: see Freudenburg 1996: 200.

7 hoc refers to Cat.’s ability to recall the lessons he has heard. **mirus utroque** “you’re a marvel at both,” i.e. memory as a learned skill, and memory as a gift of nature; cf. [Cic.] *Her.* 3.28 *sunt duae memoriae, una naturalis, altera artificiosa*. On *mirus* used of persons, see *OLD* s.v. 1b.

8 quin “yes, in fact.”

9 utpote is explanatory (“given that these matters are subtle”); cf. 1.4.24–5. The *tenuēs tenui* polyptoton emphasizes the deep subtlety of the precepts he has just learned. Watson 2007: 349 points out that, although Cat. uses these words in a self-aggrandizing way, at an ironic (and unintended) level the polyptoton calls attention to the “slightness” of his subject matter. For “subtlety” (*tenuitas*) as a quality of philosophical argumentation, cf. Cic. *Fin.* 3.40, describing the difficulty of rendering the intricacies of Greek Stoic philosophy in Latin. **peractas** “dealt with thoroughly” (*OLD* s.v. 11b).

10 ede “utter/reveal” (*OLD* s.v. 6b) is “pretentious (cf. 5.61, 7.45), suggesting an oracle” (Courtney 2013a: 141–2). **Romanus an hospes** recalls Plato *Prt.* 309c, where at the beginning of the dialogue Socrates is asked by a friend whether the wise man he had conversed with that morning, the man whose teaching he found so inspiring, was “a citizen or a stranger” (ἄστωρ ἢ ξένω).

11 Cat. speaks as one possessing the powers of a divinely inspired *uates*, “priest poet” (see prev. and next nn.), thus capable of both “hiding” and “revealing” deep truths. **memor** “from memory,” coupled with *canam*, suggests a muse-like capacity for remarkable feats of memory, and for sublime “song.” On the Muses as daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne “Memory,” see Hes. *Theog.* 53–4; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.491–2 Μοῦσαι, Διὸς ... θυγατέρες, μνησαίᾱθ’ ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἰλίων ἦλθον, Virg. *Aen.* 1.8 *Musa, mihi causas memora*. Further on the joking solemnity of Cat.’s language in these lines, see La Penna 1995: 166–7. **celabitur** “will remain concealed” parodies the solemn language of cult; cf. Archestratus fr. 40.3 “it is not lawful to utter [sc. the fish’s name]” with Olson–Sens *ad loc.* There is perhaps a Lucretian tone to be detected here in Cat.’s reverence toward a teacher of revolutionary *praecepta* whose name he must not reveal: Lucretius praises

Epicurus on numerous occasions in *De rerum natura*, but only in one instance (3.1042) does he refer to him by name. On the abundant use of language of the mysteries in Lucretius, see Fowler 2007: 211–12.

12 longa ... facies “an elongated outer surface,” contrasting eggs that are more round in shape, mentioned in the next line. Eggs come first in Cat.’s disquisition because traditionally they were served first at the Roman *cena*, as a “starter course” (*gustatio*); see Gowers *ad* 1.3.6–7 and 70–2 n. below. Cat.’s rules complicate even the most humble and basic of traditional foods. Adding to that absurdity here is the quasi-oracular tone of his pronouncements: as if endowed with powers of a seer, Cat. here purports to be able to reveal matters deeply hidden (the insides of an egg) on the basis of external signs. On the basics of Roman divinization, see B–N–P, vol. II: 166–93. **memento** “do thou remember,” further mock solemnity (prev. n. and cf. 5.52).

13 ut “as,” “on the grounds that.” **suci melioris**: gen. of quality. **magis alba** refers not to the shell, but to the whites inside; see Fedeli *ad loc.*, and cf. Cels. 6.6.1 *oui et album et uitellus*, and Plin. *Nat.* 10.144.

14 ponere “to serve,” i.e. as a dish at a meal (*OLD* s.v. 5). **callosa**: sc. *oua*, “having a hard shell,” continues the description of the oval eggs that Cat. prefers. Cat.’s explanation for why these eggs taste better amounts to a physiognomic reading of their shells, with observable characteristics serving as signs of internal qualities: this egg has a long and hard shell, so it must have a correspondingly taller and tougher (i.e. male) embryo inside; cf. [Arist.] *Phgn.* 806b: “the male is stronger than the female, and the extremities of his body are stronger and sleeker.” In fact, there is no proven correlation between the look of an egg and the sex of the embryo inside. Arist. *Hist. an.* 559a argues that oblong eggs were female, while Plin. *Nat.* 10.145 claims that they were male, citing Horace (i.e. this passage) as his authority.

15 cole = *caule* lit. “stalk” or “stem.” The *o*-spelling is the more “slangy” and “rustic” form, and the diphthong the more formal; see Adams 2013: 83–5. The word is commonly (and correctly) translated “cabbage,” but one should not think of a cabbage with a large, rounded head (such “headed” varieties begin to be attested only in the Middle Ages) but of something like a kale plant, with leaves sprouting from a tall upright stem. The term *caulis* is of Greek origin (καυλός), and refers to any number of vegetables of the species *brassica oleracea*: kale, cabbage, broccoli, cauliflower, kohlrabi, etc. The Romans knew these varieties, all of which feature the same prominent leafy “stalk” that gives them their name, but they knew them in forms that resembled one another much more closely than they do today. On the many varieties of *caulis* in antiquity, see Plin. 19.136–44 and Maggioni et al. 2010. The Elder Cato devotes many pages of his *De agri*

cultura to a discussion of the health benefits, and many medicinal uses, of *brassica*, which he regards as “the vegetable that surpasses all others” (*Agr.* 156.1); cf. *Plin. Nat.* 19.57 *hortorum Cato praedicat caules*, and Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 146, eschewing luxurious dishes in favor of barley-bread and cabbage; on which, see Gordon 2012: 7–8. **siccis ... in agris**: in specifying the soil conditions that are best suited to growing cabbages, Cat. affects to possess the farm expertise of an Elder Cato (cf. *Agr.* 9.1), but he sounds utterly unlike him in scorning the products of an irrigated garden, and in treating the most basic and wholesome of “old Roman” vegetables as a gourmet food to be prized for the subtlety of its texture and taste. On dry conditions giving rise to better tasting, but less plentiful, cabbage, cf. *Plin. Nat.* 19.138.

16 elutius “more washed out,” i.e. “tasteless.” Gowers 1993: 147 notes a connection between Cat.’s dislike of watery cabbage and H.’s Callimachean aversion toward turbid and watery verse.

17 oppresserit “take by surprise” (*OLD* s.v. 7a), but with strong suggestions of a sneak attack by an enemy (“be blind-sided”), as if the person arriving unexpectedly were a *hostis* rather than *hospes*. Both words originally meant “stranger” (see Ernout-Meillet s. vv.) and the *hospes/hostis* pun was fairly common; for examples, see Michalopoulos 2006 *ad Ov. Her.* 17.10 *hospes an hostis eras?*

18 malum responset “should stubbornly defy.” The phrase serves to personify the hen as brazen and uncooperative; cf. *responsare* meaning “talk back to” at 7.85 (see n.). *malum* is a neuter accusative internal object, used adverbially. The verb’s iterative form helps one picture the guest’s ongoing struggle to chew the tough meat (*reluctetur in faucibus*, [Acro] *ad loc.*).

19 doctus eris “you’ll have the expertise to.” The adjective takes a pro-lative infinitive; cf. 7.85, 8.24. **uiuam** “while still alive.” **mixto** “mixed with water,” “diluted” (*OLD* s.v. 1b). The MSS all support this reading (some with the alternate spelling *misto*). The emendation *musto* “must” (referring to grape juice freshly pressed), introduced by Landinus in 1482, was vigorously supported by Bentley because he considered it easy to make sense of as a typographical error, and because it eliminates the question (presumably left hanging by *mixto*) of what the Falernian wine was mixed with. But, when used of wine, the adjective *mixtum* functions as the antonym of *merum* “unmixed wine” and means wine mixed with water; cf. *Cels.* 4.26.9 *id (uinum) uel merum sorbet ... uel bibit mixtum*. In the end (as Maclean points out *ad loc.*) there is no compelling reason to alter the reading of the MSS. To use gallons of upscale Falernian wine (see 8.16 n.) as a drowning vat for chickens is both flamboyantly stylish and preposterous. On chicken as humble, old-fashioned fare, see 2.121 n., *Plin. Nat.* 10.139 and *Mart.* 10.48.13–18.

20 *pratensibus ... fungis* “meadow mushrooms,” as opposed to wood mushrooms. This is the sole mention of mushrooms (*fungus, boletus, tuber*) in all of H. Roman enthusiasm for mushrooms as a gourmet food item seems to have taken off in the first century CE. The cookbook attributed to “Apicius,” compiled in Late Antiquity, but with some material dating to the early empire, has numerous recipes for porcini mushrooms, chanterelles, and truffles; see [Apicius] *De re coquinaria* 7.15–16, and Faas 1994: 236–9. The braggart cooks and food enthusiasts of Plautus do not mention them. Cic. *Fam.* 7.26.2 puts mushrooms among primitive “earth-born foods” (*terra nata*) that “those stylish men of yours” (*isti lauti*, referring to the letter’s Epicurean recipient, M. Fabius Gallus; see the intro. to poem 3 above) were trying to bring into vogue as a way of skirting recent sumptuary legislation; see Jaeger 2011: 16–17.

21 *aliis male creditur* “the others cannot be trusted,” referring to wood mushrooms. Jaeger 2011: 17 points out that the phrase “can be taken as personifying the mushrooms.”

22–3 *moris* “mulberries”; on the purported laxative properties of *mora* (Gk μόρον), see Galen K 584–88. *ante grauem ... solem* “before the sun becomes oppressive,” i.e. the mulberries are to be picked in the cool of the morning.

24 *Aufidius* is an unknown culinary authority and a competitor, whose expertise is questioned by Cat. **forti**: the adjective is thrown into prominence by its distance from the noun *Falerno*, suggesting that Aufidius’ mistake was in mixing honey in wine that Cat. considers too strong. Whether that is because Aufidius used an over-strong variety of Falernian or because Cat. thinks that all Falernian wine is too strong is unclear. Elsewhere in H. Falernian is always strong and dry, but the elder Pliny is aware of milder and sweeter varieties (see 8.16 n.). The evidence of Macr. 7.12.9 suggests that, among food connoisseurs, old Falernian mixed with new Hymettian honey was the proverbial “best” way to make *mulsum*; cf. Mart. 13.108.1, and cf. Ofellus’ reference to the same recipe at 2.15–16 (see n.).

25 *mendose* “a ... mis ... take.” The word’s placement (postponed via enjambment) and drawn-out pace (a molossus, set off by a caesura in the second foot) produces a drumroll effect, marking it as the bombshell pronouncement of an expert who, in this one word, is waving away the theory of a popular, but overrated, rival. For the metrical device, see 64 n., and cf. the detached *frustra* of 7.115 (see n.). *uacuis committere uenis* “consign to the veins when empty.” The veins were thought to be channels for distributing food and liquids (3.153 n.). Here it is understood that they are empty because the *mulsum*, around which this controversy revolves, was a pre-dinner drink, served as part of the appetizer course (*gustatio* or *promulsis*, the latter meaning not “before the *mulsum*” but the

“*mulsum* beforehand,” i.e. before the meal proper). Further on *mulsum*, see 2.15–16 n. On the main stages of the Roman *cena*, with a discussion of technical vocabulary, see Faas 1994: 76–83. **praecordia**: here refers to the lungs (*pulmones*) which were thought to take in liquids; see Courtney *ad Juv. Sat.* 4.138.

27 prolueris melius “better you should first wash out,” with the prefix *pro* suggesting that the aperitif is a kind of salubrious “pre-wash” of the *praecordia* (“spiegazione di carattere medico,” Fedeli *ad loc.*). When used of wine, the verb has the colloquial sense of “soused” or “sozzled”; see Gowers *ad* 1.4.16. Here, both senses, i.e. the quasi-medical “pre-wash” and the colloquial “souse,” are heard at the same time (“best to perform a pre-sozzlement”). For the perfect subjunctive (jussive) modified by a comparative adverb (an odd verbal tic that Cat. indulges in twice), cf. 72 and 8.33 (see nn.). **si dura morabitur aluus** “if the bowels are hard and holding back.” Because appetizers were supposed to pique the appetite rather than sate it, the *gustatio* tended to feature sharp and acidic vegetables, as well as pickled and/or salted items, such as oysters, anchovies or ham, to enhance thirst; see 8.8 n., and cf. Mart. 11.52, where the appetizer items are served to get the bowels moving (*OLD moueo* 12c): *prima tibi dabitur uentri lactuca mouendo | utilis*.

28 mitulus “mussel” refers to the common Mediterranean mussel (*mytilus galloprovincialis*), now considered a highly invasive species.

29 lapathi brevis “shortleaf sorrel” and *uiles conchae* “shellfish of a common variety” are concessions to the traditional economy and simplicity of the *gustatio*. But Cat. innovates radically by turning the *gustatio* into a shellfish-intensive “gourmet cure” for constipation. Cato *Agr.* 158 gives an elaborate recipe for a concoction to cure constipation. Like that of Cat.’s *gustatio*, it includes leafy vegetables and shellfish, all to be topped off by draughts of Coan wine. But Cato intends his recipe, which sounds quite repulsive (ham bits, fern shoots, a whole scorpion, etc., cooked into a stew), as a purgative, to be taken as medicine, not as a gourmet item. For an extensive list of foods eaten to cure constipation (*aluum mouent*), see Cels. 2.29, which reads very much like a list of traditional Roman appetizers, and includes sorrel, shellfish, and *mulsum*; cf. the list of “bowel softeners” (*aluum mollientia*) of Larg. 135. **albo ... Co** “white Coan wine,” a salted wine from the island of Cos. Cato gives a recipe for it at *Agr.* 112, making clear that not all Coan wine came from Cos. On the presumed laxative qualities of salted wines, see Cato *Agr.* 158.

30 lubrica “slippery.” The adjective is emphatic. Cat. seems to be drawing a connection between the slippery texture of molluscs and their laxative properties; see *OLD* s.v. 2c, and cf. Plin. *Nat.* 32.64 [*ostrea*] *emolliunt*

aluum leniter. The line is elaborately interlaced (a b verb B A = a so-called “Golden Line”), marking a turn in the lecture from common and cheap shellfish to more luxurious varieties; for the device, see Hoffer 2007. It is unclear whether the discussion at this point concerns the *gustatio* or the *cena* proper. In either case, the foods mentioned are extremely luxurious. Normally such costly varieties of shellfish were served not as appetizers, but as main courses, and only at especially fine dinners. But famous exceptions are known, such as the lavish pontifical dinner that celebrated the inauguration of L. Cornelius Lentulus as *flamen Martialis* in c. 70 BCE. The appetizer course of that meal (see Macr. 3.13.12) featured at least two rounds of shellfish served in an impressive array of varieties, including all the basic types named by Cat., but with no indication of their specific provenance. **implet**: the verb is regularly used of the waxing moon as it “fills in” its orb (*OLD* s.v. 2b), but here it is used of moons filling in the tasty insides of shellfish. This is Cat.’s way of saying that oysters, etc., should be harvested under a full moon, a recommendation based on folk wisdom (“full moon full oysters”). For the same verb applied to shellfish (the clever turn of phrase is not original to Cat.), and for the belief connecting the growth and succulence of shellfish to the phases of the moon, see Krenkel *ad* Lucil. fr. 1224K (=1222W, 1201M) *luna alit ostrea et implet echinos*, and Plin. *Nat.* 9.96. **conchylia** (Gk κογχύλιον) is a general term used to designate a large variety of hard-shelled molluscs, such as oysters, mussels and clams. All the varieties named in the four lines that follow (*murex* “sea snail,” *peloris* “giant mussel,” *ostreum* “oyster,” *echinus* “sea-urchin”) fall under this designation.

31 generosae “noble” is snooty in tone, and opposes the “common” shellfish mentioned three lines above. Though the adjective is often used of plants and animals (*OLD* s.v. 3), undertones of class and “good breeding” are brought to the fore here by the context: it can be no coincidence that the shellfish so designated all come from the resort towns of Campania and *magna Graecia* that were the exclusive luxury haunts and vacation spas of the ultra-rich and noble (i.e. “all the best” shellfish swim in the same waters as “all the best” Romans).

32 Baiano: Baiae was a spa resort, famous for its seaside villas and hot sulphur baths. It was located on the gulf of Pozzuoli, midway between Cumae and Puteoli (see Map 2). On the luxury resorts of the region, see D’Arms 1970. **Lucrina peloris** “the Lucrine mussel.” The *lacus Lucrinus* was a salt-water lagoon on the gulf of Pozzuoli, just above Baiae. Its shellfish were legendary; see Mankin *ad* *Epod.* 2.49 and N–H *ad* *Carm.* 2.15.3. The lagoon was cut off from the waters of Baiae by a narrow causeway known as the *via Herculeae*, which doubled as a famous fish market. Cat.

is claiming to be able to taste the difference between shellfish caught on opposite sides of the same causeway; cf. two fragments of the first-century CE physician Xenocrates of Aphrodisias (Oribasius, *Coll. Med.* II, 58, 54–5 and 129), distinguishing between the round, sweet and succulent mussels of the Alexandrian harbor and the longish, prickly mussels that were fished farther out “beyond Pharos and the Diolkos and the Bridge.” For the fragments, with trans. and commentary, see Fraser 1961. On the history of shellfish farming in the region, see Marzano 2013: 174–9.

33 Circeis “in Circeii” refers to a coastal promontory in Latium, between Anzio and Terracina, about 100 km south of Rome (see Map 2). Its oysters were famous; see Plin. *Nat.* 32.62, quoting the greatest connoisseur of his age (Mucianus): *sed his [ostreis Circeiensibus] neque dulciora neque teneriora ulla esse compertum est*. **Miseno** “in Misenum,” refers to the promontory that formed the northwestern shore of the Gulf of Pozzuoli. The town of Misenum was at the tip of the promontory, just below Baiae (5 km to the north). Agrippa developed the inner reaches of the natural harbor into a naval base during the wars with Sextus Pompey, using both Lake Avernus and the Lucrine lake for naval drills. Ten years later he developed the *portus Iulius* at the far end of the promontory, at Misenum; see Pitassi 2009: 203–6. For a plan of the double harbor at Misenum, see Laird 2015: 141.

34 iactat se “prides itself on” c. abl. (*OLD* s.v. 13). **molle** “soft” = “luxurious/relaxing,” but one also hears a reference to the mild climate, for which Tarentum was famous; see [Acro] *ad loc.*: *quia melior est ibi aer*, and N–H *ad Carm.* 2.6.17–18 and pp. 94–6. **Tarentum**: a Greek port city (modern Taranto), situated along the upper reaches of the “arch” of Italy’s boot. Ironically, this “soft” city was founded by colonists from Sparta, who were legendarily self-denying and “hard”; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 8.638 = Cato *Orig.* fr. 51 Cornell: *Lacedaemonios durissimos fuisse omnis lectio docet*. Macr. 3.18.13 rejects an etymology, favored by Favorinus, deriving the city’s name from a word in the Sabine dialect meaning “soft” (*tereno*). He suspects that H. may be hinting at the same false etymology here, in the phrase *molle Tarentum*.

35 nec ... quiuis “not just anyone you please.” **temere** “flippantly,” i.e. showing an impetuous and reckless disregard for the risks involved; see *OLD temeritas* 1a.

36 exacta “thoroughly investigated,” i.e. “fully mastered”; see *OLD* s.v. 10a, and Brink 1982: 421–4 on the “ideal of masterliness” suggested by *exigere* and *exactus*. **tenui** “intricate.” Close verbal parallels with line 9 (*tenui ... peractas*) suggest a verbal tic on Cat.’s part, one with strong poetic associations; cf. Prop. 3.1.8. *exactus tenui pumice uersus eat*. On the overlap between Cat.’s culinary terminology and the literary-critical terminology

of H., see Ferris-Hill 2015: 114–15. **ratione** “the rules” or “the science,” c. gen. of the field covered (*OLD* s.v. 11b), as if taste, a thing notoriously personal and hard to quantify, could be reduced to a system of rules.

37 auerrere “sweep clean.” The verb is extremely rare. A fish-trawling metaphor is likely in play; cf. 3.235, and Cicero’s punning disparagement of Verres as a fisherman’s *euerriculum* “drag-net” at *Ver.* 2.4.53, and as a robber who “swept up” the entirety of Sicily’s wealth at *Ver.* 2.2.19 *ad euerrendam prouinciam uenerit*. For a similar play on the idea of fish being “swept up” (as if by a drag-net) from the shops of fishmongers, see Col. 8.17.12. **mensa** (sc. *piscatoria*) refers to the fish-seller’s table (*OLD* s.v. 8b).

38–9 ignarum “not knowing” is the accusative subject of *auerrere*, and points ahead to the questions that follow. **quibus** (sc. *piscibus*) is an interrogative adjective: “for which fish sauce is better suited, and which ones, when grilled, will soon put a drooping dinner guest back up on his elbow.” **est**: the use of the indicative in indirect questions is common in early Latin, and here carries a colloquial tone; see *NLS* §179, Courtney 1999: 11, and *OLS* 629–32. *Apul. Apol.* 39 (= *FLP*, Ennius fr. 28) indicates that in Ennius’ mock epic *Hedyphagetica*, just as here, the question of whether fish are best served with sauce or grilled followed the disquisition on the specific regions where the best fish of each type were to be found.

40–4 Cat. moves from the topic of fish to that of wild game: boars, roe deer and hares. The same trio appears as its own species of the *genus uenaticum* at *Var. R.* 3.3.3. Cat. argues that the meat of boar fattened on the acorns of the holm-oaks of Umbria is tastier than that of boars fed on the lowland reeds and sedge of Laurentum. The implied contrast is between “high, hard, dry and energetic” versus “low, flaccid, wet and sluggish.”

40 Vmber “from Umbria,” a mountainous region of central Italy, east of Etruria, extending to the Adriatic coast. The pork products of the region are still highly prized, sold throughout Italy in specialty shops known as *Norcinerie*, named after the Umbrian town of Norcia (Lat. *Nursia*).

41 curuat: some editors prefer *curuet* (“let an Umbrian boar bend the platters”), but the MSS are solidly on the side of *curuat* (“it is an Umbrian boar that bends”). [Acro] *ad loc.* comments on the indicative. **uitantis** is a characterizing genitive. **inertem** “sludgy,” “boggy” implies both limp in texture and dull/watery in taste (“tasteless,” *OLD* s.v. 5c). The quality of the meat corresponds to the “sluggish” and “swampy” terrain (*OLD* s.v. 4; cf. *Sen. Her. F.* 686 *palus inertis foeda Cocyti iacet* and 869–70 *inerti ... Cocyto*) where the boar was fattened on reeds and sedge (plants found in swamps). A causal link is being made between texture, taste and terrain, as with the cabbages of lines 15–16 above (see nn.). On the ancient belief that foods took on the qualities of their environment, see Gourévitch

1974: 316–17 and Olson–Sens *ad* Archestratus fr. 46.3 “[the mullets] are best there, since that is the nature of the place.”

42 Laurens: Laurentum was a city on the shores of Latium, near Ostia, famous as the site ruled over by Latinus when Aeneas landed in Italy. Many Romans owned estates there, including Hortensius and (much later) the younger Pliny. On fattened Laurentian boar as a symbol of turgid poetry, see Mart. 10.45.4 with Gowers 1993: 148, n. 143. No other Latin author calls into question the taste of Laurentian boar. The renowned “Iberian hams” (Jamón Ibérico) of Spain and Portugal are from pigs fattened on acorns of holm and cork oaks, so it is certainly possible that the Umbrian boars preferred by Cat. possessed distinctive qualities that some might prefer.

43 summittit “rears” (*OLD* s.v. 2). The idea of “vineyard-raised” *capreae* is especially strange because, for vine-growers, roe deer were regarded as an existential threat; see Mynors *ad* Virg. *G.* 2.374 *capreaeque sequaces* (“pesky roe deer”). Cat.’s reasons for insisting that deer be kept away from the vines are those of a gourmet cook rather than those of a farmer: all about the taste of the deer, not the protection of the vines.

44 fecundae “while fertile” is thrown into prominence by its position in the line (hyperbaton); cf. the supposedly superior flesh of the eel caught “while pregnant” at 8.43–4. Elsewhere *lepus* is always masculine, but here Cat. is making a fussy distinction about taste that requires a fussy adjustment to the language; cf. 8.87 n. **sapiens** “one who is wise/of discerning tastes.” The pun was quite common; see Gowers 1993: 132. **sectabitur** “will chase after” is a hunting metaphor; see *OLD* *sector** 2b. Usually it is the hare, rather than some tasty part of it, that one chases after; cf. Ov. *Rem.* 201. **armos** “shoulders,” which include the forelegs, presumably the tastiest part; cf. 8.89.

45 aetas “peak season” (elsewhere unattested in this sense) captures the idea of Gk ὥρη “the right time for”; see Olson–Sens *ad* Archestratus 39.9–10 “eat tuna steak at peak-season (ὥραίου φάγε ... τέμαχος), for it is excellent and soft.”

46 meum: though reporting what he heard, Cat. retains the first person of the original boast. The adjective is made emphatic by the long reach that separates it from the noun at line-end, where a surprise awaits (*paraprosdokian*): instead of “before *my* ... time” (or “day,” or “discovery”) we are given “before *my* ... palate.” **nulli patuit quaesita** “though sought after, was disclosed to no other [sc. palate].” Cat.’s proud boast is a version of the *ego primus* motif (see 1.62–3 n., and cf. 73–4 and 8.51–2), here imagined as a quasi-divine revelation; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.405 *incessu patuit dea*. Courtney 2013a: 143 posits a connection with Lucr. 1.926–9, on which see also 94–5 n.

47 crustula “cookies.” As treats to bribe children with, see 1.1.25.

48 nequaquam “by ... no ... means.” The drawn-out pace lends an air of authority to the pronouncement (see above 25 n). **consumere curam**: cf. Cic. *Brut.* 119, where Cicero claims that Stoics pay no attention to more varied and effusive qualities of style “because their only concern is for dialectic” (*quod ... in dialecticis omnis cura consumitur*).

49 solum hoc “this one thing” is internal accusative after *laboret* “should worry” or “trouble over” (*OLD* s.v. 7). The optative clause that follows is in apposition to *hoc*.

50 securus “nonchalant about” (*OLD* s.v. 4b) is followed by the indirect question that frames the entire line: *quali ... oliuo* “with what kind of ... olive oil” (the stretch from interrogative adjective to noun puts extreme emphasis on *quali*).

51 Massica “Massic” wine has the distinction of being the first wine to merit mention in H.’s wine-rich *Odes* at *Carm.* 1.1.19–21. It is the wine of Lucilius’ home-town of Suessa Aurunca, which was situated on the western slope of the mons Massicus, on the border between Latium adiectum and Campania (see Map 2). In *Carm.* 3.21 H. invites Messalla Corvinus, known to be a wine snob, to share in a “pious jar” of decades-old Massic that had been set in store the year of H.’s birth (65 BCE). Col. 3.8.5 ranks Massic, Surrentine, Alban and Caecuban as Italy’s finest wines: “among wine’s nobles, these are the princes.”

52–3 Cat. appropriates the technical language of a physician diagnosing disease, treating a strong batch of Massic wine as if it were the bodily humor of a sick patient, over-thick, and needing to be thinned out; cf. Cels. 2.6.11 *pessima [urina] tamen est praecipueque mortifera nigra, crassa, mali odoris ... in pueris uero quae tenuis et diluta est*, 4.5.4 *si ... crassa facta pituita est ... at si aequae tenuis quarto die pituita est*, 5.26.20c *malus autem est sanguis nimium aut tenuis aut crassus*. The same terms are (not by coincidence) buzzwords of Callimachean aesthetics; see 2.3 n., and Gowers 1993: 147–9. By recommending a natural cure (rest under a serene night sky), Cat. turns a known practice for tempering wine into a quasi-medical prescription.

53 neruis “sinews/nerves,” but the plural is often used to designate one’s overall vigor or “energy”; see *OLD* s.v. 5 and 6, and cf. 1.2 (see n.). **inimicus** “injurious (to)” (*OLD* s.v. 5); as medical language, see Fedeli *ad* 1.5.49 and cf. Plin. *Nat.* 21.128 on narcissus flower as *neruis inimicum* “injurious to the sinews,” and 23.99 on decoction of palm spathe as “injurious to the head and sinews” *capiti et neruis inimicus*. Nowhere else is the aroma of wine said to damage the nerves (or anything else). The closest one finds is Plin. *Nat.* 23.35, where Pliny claims that Falernian wine was “believed not to be beneficial to the sinews and bladder” and that “Alban wines are better for the sinews” (*Albana neruis utiliora*). **illa** sc.: *uina*.

54-7 The practice of straining wine through a cloth sack to remove bitter particulates is widely attested in Roman sources; see Schmeling *ad* Petr. 73.5. Plin. *Nat.* 14.138 suggests that straining the wine made it less potent, allowing one to drink more. Cat. takes issue with the common practice not because it weakens the wine, but because he thinks the wine's "pure virgin taste" (next n.) is lost in the linen. As an alternative, he recommends cracking a pigeon's egg into the wine and letting it draw the lees down as it sinks to the bottom. The particulates, in this case, stay in the wine, but cling to the bottom.

54 *integrum* "full/undiminished" (*OLD* s.v. 6 and 7), but here with strong suggestions of moral probity, i.e. a pure "virgin" taste (*OLD* s.v. 8). The hyperbaton that sets the adjective in high relief stretches the entire length of the line. For *integrum* and *uitiata* as words associated with virginity, see *OLD integer* 8, and *OLD uitio* 3. **lino** "linen" initiates a rhyme-chain with *limum* and *ima* in the lines that follow; see 57 n.

55 *Surrentina* "Surrentine," i.e. from Surrentum (modern Sorrento), on the coastal promontory that stretches toward Capri, forming the southern arm of the bay of Naples (see Map 2). Some held this wine in very high regard (see 51 n.). Plin *Nat.* 14.64 says that physicians prescribed it for their recovering patients because of its "thinness and its promotion of good health." **uafer** "a clever genius," with suggestions of his being a "sly dog" for finding a way to make a stronger "mock-Falernian" wine out of thin Surrentine. The opposed natures of the two wines are suggested by their opposed positions (first and last) in the line; for the device (used of enemies bitterly hostile to one another), cf. 1.5.52 *Sarmentū scurrae pugnam* Messique *Cicirri*, 1.7.11-12 *inter* | *Hectora Priamiden, animosum atque inter Achillem*, | *ira fuit capitalis*, Virg. *Aen.* 1.458 *Atridas Priamumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem*.

57 *quatenus ... uitellus* "seeing that the yolk rolls the alien material down with it as it makes its way to the bottom." **ima**: neuter pl. substantive (*OLD* s.v. 1d). The word forms the last link in a rhyme chain with *lino* and *limum* (all long -i's) in the lines above. The final rhyme in the set brings to mind the (etymological) wordplay of Lucr. 5.496-7, describing how heavy matter in the universe flows down to the bottom like lees in wine: *omnis mundi quasi limus in imum* | *confluxit grauis et subsedit funditus ut faex*. For the phrase *ima petit*, cf. Virg. *G.* 1.401 *ima petunt* (of sinking clouds), *Aen.* 9.120 *ima petunt* (of dolphins), Ov. *Met.* 2.265 *ima petunt* (of fish), and Luc. 4.127 *ima petit* (of rain).

58 *marcentem* "flagging/drooping" from too much wine. Before its use here, the verb *marcere* occurs only at Var. *L.* 6.50 and in Lucretius, where it is used twice in the same passage to refer to the "wearying" and

“shriveling” effects of age: “now your body is shriveled,” *corpus iam marcet*, 3.946, “you are wearily hanging on, having finished with all of life’s rewards” *omnia perfunctus uitae praemia marces*, 956. Sandwiching these lines are two famous passages urging the fool (diatribe’s anonymous “you”) to step away from life, “like a dinner guest who has taken his fill of life” (*ut plenus uitae conuiua*, 3.938), and to do so before death catches him unawares: “before you have the chance to leave, drunk, and having had your fill of things” (*ante | quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum*, 3.959–60). The clear message in Lucretius is that the “flagging/drooping” diner needs to realize that his time is up, and leave while he still can. Ironically, Cat. uses the same rare metaphor, again in reference to an over-indulgent dinner guest, to suggest not that the man needs to leave, but that he needs to be revived so that he can eat and drink even more. For Lucretius’ *conuiua satur* image (quoted above) as fundamental to H.’s re-conception of satire, see Freudenburg 2001: 32–9. The verb *marcere* occurs at Ov. *Am.* 1.13.41 *uir tibi marcet ab annis*, where it is again “an allusion to Lucretius’ doctrine of mortality” (McKeown *ad loc.*). The verb is used of wilted or “shriveled” vegetables, flowers and fruits, and it appears frequently in discussions of Roman decadence, where it is used to describe the weakening and “wilting” effects of *luxuria*; cf. Livy 23.45 and Petr. *Sat.* 55.6. **tostis ... Afra**: the emphatic adjectives occupy the first and last positions in the line: “prawns that have been fried, and (a) snail from Africa.” **squillis**: the designation is used of numerous varieties of shrimps and prawns, ranging from small (cf. the “swimming prawns” that surround the moray at 8.42) to gigantic, e.g. Lucil. fr. 204–5W = 1239–40M *cum omnia in ista consumes squilla* “when you waste all you have on that prawn.” As a gourmet item, cf. Archestratus fr. 25, and see Courtney *ad Juv.* 5.80. The use of prawns (toasted or otherwise) as a *post uinum* restorative is otherwise unattested.

59–60 coclea: a delicacy, highly esteemed by gourmands. Here the singular (not “snails” but “a snail”) may be significant. Var. *R.* 3.14 describes solitanae snails from Africa being raised to an enormous size. Plin. *Nat.* 9.173–4 credits Fulvius Lippinus (c. 50 BCE) with devising an *ars* for raising giant snails “so that gluttony might have its fill even of fattened snails.” **nam lactuca**: the phraseology suggests that Cat. regards lettuce as the received standard for reviving a tired dinner guest that he proposes to replace with toasted scampi and African snails; cf. 8.7–9 where lettuce is among the “sharp/acidic” appetizers (*acria*) that stimulate a weary appetite, and Plin. *Nat.* 19.127 (*lactucae*) *stomacho fastidium auferunt cibique appetentiam faciunt*. Mart. 13.14 suggests that lettuce had long before his time been eaten at the end of the meal rather than at the beginning. **innatat** “floats on,” i.e. remains undigested in (*OLD* s.v. 2b). **acri**: the adjective is

commonly applied to foods (*OLD* s.v. 2f), as at 8.7 (see n.). But here it is transferred to the stomach itself (“an acid stomach”), to describe a case of indigestion. **hillis** “sausages.” The word *hilla* (diminutive of *hira* “gut”) is extremely rare, but occurs twice in the mimes of Laberius; see Panayotakis *ad* Laberius frs. 15 and 83.

61 flagitat “insistently demands,” “clamours for.” The verb has its roots in an extra-legal public shaming ritual (*flagitium*) that involved lenders following and loudly harassing debtors who refused to pay their debts; see Graf 2005: 194–6. The verb’s inherent sense of nagging persistence is underscored by the repetition of *magis* in the prev. line; further on which, see Wills 114. **immorsus**: sc. *stomachus*. This is the first of only two uses of the word in extant Latin (*OLD* *immo* “bite into”). It is usually taken as a predicate nominative, in the sense of a stomach/appetite that “demands to be restored *by being nipped at*,” i.e. “stimulated”; cf. 8.8–9. *peruellunt stomachum* “pinch the stomach/appetite” = “arouse hunger.” Citing the common use of *mergere* as a metaphor for intoxication, e.g. Liv. 41.3.10 *uino somnoque ... mersos*, Harrison 1998 proposed reading *immersus* (sc. *potor*) in the sense of a dinner guest “far gone in drink.”

62 quaecumque ... popinis “anything that is brought in sizzling from filthy take-out joints.” *popinae* were neighborhood taverns, open to the streets, specializing in roasted and grilled meats, and hot wine. Roman writers routinely disparage them as filthy, not only because they tended to be smoke-filled and caked with soot, but because they were popular with common workers, freedmen and slaves; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.14.21–2, addressing the slave in charge of his villa: *fornix tibi et uncta popina | incutiunt urbis desiderium*. Strong associations with gambling, prostitution and all-night drinking made *popinae* a handy tool of “disparagement by association” in rhetorical invective; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.24, *Pis.* 18 and Suet. *Nero* 26.1. Further on *popinae* in their cultural context, see Laurence 1994: 78–87.

63 est operae pretium “it is well worth the effort” introduces a new topic. The phrase has a staid, archaic tone, serving to mark the seriousness of the matter introduced; see Brink *ad Ep.* 2.1.229, and Gowers *ad* 1.2.37. Here, the somber formula is used to introduce the frivolous matter of *duplicis ... iuris* “a double sauce,” implying that it was both “complex” in its ingredients and “tricky” to master. **pernoscere** “to have a thorough grasp of.” The word occurs nowhere else in H. Kenney notes *ad* Lucr. 3.179–80 that Lucretius was inordinately fond of forming compounds with *per* “very/thoroughly,” but that, outside of Lucretius, such words are extremely rare in higher genres of poetry because they were regarded as colloquial. At Lucr. 3.181 *pernoscere* is the fourth word compounded with *per* in a four-line stretch: *pergam ... persubtilem ... perquam ... id ita esse | hinc*

aduertas animum ut pernoscere possis. As a term used by experts teaching a complex science, cf. Cic. *De or.* 1.17. Further on the abundant Lucretian overtones of these lines, see Courtney 2013a: 143, Muecke *ad loc.*, and next n.

64 naturam: for the “drumroll” effect produced by the word’s postponement, see 25 n. **simplex:** it is unclear whether the adjective refers to the entire sauce recipe that follows, in which case lines 64–9 constitute Cat.’s “simple” version of a double sauce; or whether it refers more narrowly to the uncooked mixture of sweet oil, wine and brine of lines 64–6, thus indicating a “simple” sauce that is subsequently “doubled” (i.e. further compounded by a second stage of preparation) by being simmered with aromatic herbs and given a second dash of olive oil. The second option seems preferable because the recipe requires two distinct stages of preparation, each described in three lines, and each requiring three ingredients. Taken as a whole, there is a noticeable ring structure to the recipe (olive oil plus two ingredients in stage one, followed by two further ingredients plus olive oil in stage two), and it features an elaborate set of counterbalances that set off the first stage from the second: fermented versus cooked, foul-smelling versus fragrant, and mild “liquid” sounds (*miscere mero muria*) versus harsh palatal sounds (*Corycio croco*), with each of these opposed sonic effects featured in the middle line of its respective 3-line stage; cf. 2.72–6 (see nn.), where Ofellus uses the adjective *simplex* to refer to foods that do not combine opposite qualities, such as dry and wet, sea and sky. The recipe is shot through with Lucretian phraseology; cf. esp. Lucr. 3.231–42, where Lucretius argues that the soul is not “simple” in its makeup but a threefold composite of air, heat and wind, set in motion by a fourth, ultra-fine substance that has no name.

65 pingui: in puzzling over this word (“quodnam enim est *pingue merum*?”), Bentley pointed out that one expects “rich/fatty oil” and “sweet wine” in accordance with common usage. Resisting the urge to re-fit the adjectives to their “proper” nouns, as some editors had done, Bentley construed the mismatch not as a scribal error, but a misuse put in Cat.’s mouth by H. in order to make him sound ridiculous. The mismatch can also be thought of as a (rather ridiculous sounding) grammatical illustration of the issue at hand, which concerns the way in which separate ingredients of a sauce come together into a single whole, with each ingredient lending its own distinct qualities to the other ingredients in the mixture. For a similar switch of the usual epithets, cf. Cat.’s innovation of serving white pepper with black salt in v. 74 (see n.). **muriaque** “brine” refers to the heavily salted and pungent brine in which fish were pickled and shipped; see Curtis 1991: 7–8 and 195–6, and cf. 8.53 n. On the overpowering smell of *muria*, see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 70.12.

66 qua ... orca “[brine] with which a barrel from Byzantium has reeked.” This is Cat.’s elaborate way of saying that one should use fish-brine from Byzantium.

67 hoc: refers to the *ius simplex* of the previous three lines. **inferbuit** “has started to boil.” The verb is common in agricultural and medical writers, as well as in the recipe books attributed to “Apicius.” It appears only here in Latin poetry.

68 Corycioque croco “crocus of Corycus,” i.e. saffron. For the remarkable alliteration and assonance of the phrase, see 64 n., and cf. Lucr. 2.416 *et cum scena croco Cilici perfusa recens est*, Virg. *Aen.* 1.649 *et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho*, and Mart. 3.65.2 *de Corycio quae uenit aura croco*. The precedent was set by Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.855 χροιῇ Κωρυκίῳ ἵκελον κρόκῳ “in its color like a Corycian crocus” (describing an ingredient in Medea’s protective potion); cf. Sappho fr. 92 καὶ κλε[.]σαω[... κροκοεντα. Wild saffron from Mt. Corycus, in Cilicia (southern Turkey), was considered the best saffron of the world’s best saffron-growing region; see Plin. *Nat.* 21.31. Saffron appears only once among hundreds of Apician sauce recipes, and only then as a coloring agent: *addes propter colorem crocum* (“Apicius” *Breuis Ciborum, excerpta* 7). Though rarely used in Roman cooking, saffron had significant medicinal uses; see *OLD crocum* 1d. The use for which it was most highly prized, and by far its most prominent use, was as a particularly strong perfume, potent enough to mask pungent smells at public gatherings, such as those of bodies tightly packed in dining halls, or in theaters and in (blood-soaked) amphitheaters; see *OLD crocum* 1c, and cf. Lucr. 2.416 (quoted above), below on *sparsum*, and 81 n. In Cat.’s carefully balanced sauce, saffron functions as an aromatic counterweight to the pungent stench of *muria* (see 65 n.), which is also its alliterative counterpart (smooth liquid sounds counterbalancing harsh palatal sounds) three lines above (see 64 n.). **sparsum:** applied to the “sprinkling” of saffron perfume, cf. Mart. 5.25.7–8.

69 Venafranae “Venafran” oil, from the town of Venafrum (modern Venafrò), on the border between Latium and Campania, was commonly regarded as Italy’s finest; cf. 8.45 (see n.), Varro *R.* 1.2.6 *quod oleum (conferam) Venafro?* and see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.15–16. **quod:** sc. *oleum*. **remisit:** as a cooking word, cf. 8.53 (see n.).

70–2 The discussion of apples and grapes marks the transition to the dessert course, the meal’s last stage. Muecke *ad loc.* points out that these lines “make a ring of beginning and end” by repeating (in reverse) the words (*suco, facie*) that were applied to eggs (*facies, suci*) in lines 12–13 (see nn.).

70 Picenis ... pomis “fruits from Picenum,” referring to a region of central Italy that extended from the Apennines eastward to the Adriatic coast,

covering the modern district of “the Marches” and parts of Abruzzo. The district produced apples that were remarkably fragrant; cf. Juv. 11.74 *aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis*. **Tiburtia** “(the apples) of Tibur” (modern Tivoli) in the foothills of the Sabine range, roughly 27 km east-northeast of Rome. Both Maecenas and H. had villas in the region. The orchards of Tibur produced excellent fruit (see N-H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.13-14), and nowhere else is the quality of Tibur’s apples called into question.

71 nam facie praestant “yes, for it is in their outer appearance that the apples (of Tibur) stand out.” **uenucula:** (sc. *uua*) refers to a kind of grape that was resilient enough to be stored in jars during the winter months; see next n., and cf. Col. 3.2.2.

72 rectius ... fumo duraueris “better you should harden with smoke,” i.e. dry as raisins. For the odd construction, see 27 n. In his discussion of storing grapes for winter use, Plin. *Nat.* 14.16 distinguishes between grapes that are hung out to dry as raisins, grapes that are packed with fermented skins in clay jars (cf. prev. n.) and yet other grapes that are given an enhanced smoky taste by being dried over a fire.

73-5 With Alban grapes serving as a transitional linchpin, the topic glides from the dessert course, and issues of preparation, to issues of stylistic presentation, and of properly “pairing” foods that are served together. Once again, Cat.’s innovations involve an elaborate set of opposites balanced against one another: dry smoked raisins served alongside juicy apples; salty fish paste served with bitter lees; white pepper “sifted onto” (*incretum*) plates with black salt; cf. the offsetting balances of the sauce recipe in lines 64-9 (see nn.). The smooth and sweet “liquid” sounds of the first pair, *uam* and *malis*, are set against the harsh palatal sounds of *faecem* and *allec*; see 64 above, and next n. Further on these three pairings, each of two items “different but not incompatible,” see Lejay *ad loc.* Cat.’s self-congratulatory claims to being an innovator and an expert stand out as a mock “culinary” version of the standard *ego primus* claims of poets; cf. 1.62-3, 8.51, and above 46 n. Ferri 1993: 50-1 has underscored strong sonic connections linking these lines (rich in plosive *p*’s: *primus ... primus ... piper ... puris*) to the *ego primus* vaunt of Lucr. 5.336-78 (*primus ... primis ipse repertus ... patrias ... possim*). As such, Cat.’s claims reinforce the idea, evident throughout the poem (cf. 16, 52-3, 64), that the rules of fine cooking are analogous to (or perhaps a parody of) poetic principles of style. For similar claims made by braggart cooks in New Comedy, see Classen 1978: 340, n. 58.

73 faecem ... et allec “wine-lees and fish paste.” A rationale for the pairing hides in the fact that *allec* (also spelled *allex*) was nothing other than the *faex* (“sediment/lees”) of *garum*; see Plin. *Nat.* 31.95 *uitium huius est allex atque imperfecta nec colata faex*, and Curtis 1991: 7, n. 7. For the

same, sharply assonantal pair (see prev. n.) served as sharp/acidic appetizers, cf. 8.g (see n.).

75 puris “unadulterated/neat.” The adjective stands out as a key feature of Cat.’s innovation that he wants to underscore. His point can hardly be that the paired items are served on “clean” plates, or that the plates are themselves plain and undecorated (*OLD* s.v. 8a) – though that is a better possibility. Rather, it is that the items on the plates are served “neat” (*OLD* s.v. 8b), i.e. not adulterated by being served with other incongruous items, all heaped onto the same big plate. It is important to Cat. that each plate should be appreciated as its own perfectly conceived pairing of complementary items, and that each food pair should be served on its own “neat plate” (the epithet is transferred from the food to the plate), i.e. not touched upon, or otherwise mixed up with, any other food. **circumposuisse** “set in a circle,” i.e. around the table’s perimeter. Cat.’s innovation concerns not just the culinary makeup of the dishes, but their presentation. The unwieldy, six-syllable form indicates that Cat. is especially proud of this refinement, and occurs nowhere else in Latin literature.

76–7 The first line stands on its own as a powerful, quasi-“censorial” denunciation of *bon vivants* who pay outrageous sums for fish (see next n.). Such is the first impression. But that idea is humorously deflated in the next line (*paraprosdokian*), where it turns out that the “monstrous vice” in question has to do not with the exorbitant price that has been paid for the fish, but with its having been badly and “unnaturally” (77 n.) constrained on a too small plate.

76 milia terna “three thousand” sc. sesterces; cf. Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 8.1, where the censor rails against Rome as a place “where a fish sells for more than an ox.” The provisions of the Licinian Law (late second century BCE) set limits for food expenditures between 30 and 300 asses (= 12 and 120 sesterces) per day, depending on the day. Further on the Licinian Law, and on moral invective targeting exorbitant prices paid for luxury food items in Rome, see Zanda 2011: 20–4, and 123–5.

77 uagos: refers to fish in their natural habitat, straddling the senses of “free-ranging” and “always on the move”; see [Acro] *ad loc.*: *epitheton piscium, quibus naturale est late uagari*, and cf. 8.6–9 and 42–3 (see nn.). For the overstuffed small plate as a symbol of verbal excess (“a warning against overstraining a limited form”) with specific reference to satire (“in light of satire’s ‘mixed dish’ origins”), see Gowers 1993: 151–2 and 210–11.

78 magna mouet stomacho fastidia “churns the stomach with utter disgust.” The two *si* clauses that follow are the subject of *mouet*. From an ancient perspective, there are two factors triggering disgust in these lines: not only are the slave’s hands greasy, they are the hands of a slave; see Kaster 2005: 190.

79 dum is to be taken closely with *unctis* at the end of the prev. line: “hands made greasy while lapping up what he has snitched.” For slaves sneaking tastes of the master’s food, see Gowers *ad* 1.3.80–1.

80–2 The lines stand out as a decidedly Catullan/neoteric metrical cluster. Each line features a word or “metrical word” of three long syllables (a molossus) immediately after a strong caesura in the third foot. A molossus in that position slows the pace considerably, and guarantees the agreement of ictus (metrical beat) and word accent in the fourth foot (routinely followed by agreement in the last two feet as well). Ross 2007: 151–2 identifies the device as a distinct mannerism of Catullus (“the Catullan molossus”), who used it repeatedly (often, as here, in multiple lines in succession) in his epyllion on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in order to produce a smooth and stately metrical effect suggestive of “the happy collaboration between gods and men”; cf. Wilkinson 1963: 129–31, and Lyne 1978: 24, describing the classic neoteric line as “end-stopped, and built around a central monumental molossus.” The Augustan poets’ use of the device is much more sparing. When they do deploy it, often they do so in order to produce specific audible effects that somehow suit the context in which they occur; cf. nn. at 51–2, 6.106–11.

80 grauis ... limus “a thick layer of grime,” referring to the dried sediment of wine, accumulated over many years. **creterrae** “mixing-bowl.” In this form, the word carries a quaintly outmoded tone: an antique word used to describe an antique object; see Fedeli *ad loc.* Some MSS read *craterae*, but forms of the first declension feminine *cratera* are elsewhere eschewed by poets in favor of forms of *creterra*, -ae, f. or *crater*, -eris, m. Virgil and Ovid use exclusively the latter, which is a straightforward transliteration from the Gk κρατήρ, and likely an Ennian innovation – unlike Naevius, Ennius is not known to have used *creterra*; see Clausen 1963: 85. Of the two forms used by poets, *creterra* is by far the rarer form: used twice in Naevius, twice in H. (here, and at *Carm.* 3.18.6–7, see N–R *ad loc.*) and once in Persius (2.52, in imitation of H.). Clausen 1963 has proposed several further uses of *creterra* via emendation, e.g. at Cic. *Arat.* 292, a line that (via Clausen’s reckoning) features metrically equivalent forms of *creterra* and *adhaeret* in exactly the same positions in the hexameter line as *creterrae* and *adhaesit* here: *hydra tenet flexu; creterra et coruus adhaeret*.

81 scopis “brooms,” i.e. for sweeping the floor. **mappis**: the context suggests that the reference is not to “napkins” used by guests, but to “towels” used by slaves to wipe dishes and/or tables. **scobe** “sawdust” was used both to clean and protect the (often expensively decorated) floors of the triclinium. It was scattered on the floor to absorb grease and spilled liquids before being swept away; see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 68.1, where Trimalchio

“treats the floor of his own dining-room as if it were the Circus floor” by using sawdust tinged with saffron.

82 consistit: for the verb used with *in* + abl. to refer to an expense “reckoned up in” (the outlay for) some item, see *OLD* s.v. 10b. **flagitium ingens** “the offence is enormous.” Cf. the “monstrous vice” overstatement of lines 76–7 above (see n.). The elision that audibly binds the two words is unusually harsh, producing a virtual hiatus in the clashing of *i*’s between *flagitium* and *ingens* (*flagiti[um] ingens*). The elision stands out as the only example of its type in the poem, versus 28 examples in the previous poem (e.g. 3.155, see n.). On the tendency of Roman poets to avoid the elision of vowels following vowels (= virtual hiatus), see Müller 330. For complete statistics regarding “Elision von Vokal nach Vokal” in H., see Nilsson 19–21.

83 ten (= *tene*) is the accusative subject of the exclamatory infinitive *radere*, cf. Juno’s famous opening salvo (as here, an exclamatory question expressing outrage) at *Aen.* 1.37 *mene incepto desistere uictam?* **lapides uarios** “multi-colored stones” refers either to colored stone floor slabs, or to a floor mosaic, inlaid with brightly colored stones. On *uarius* describing “lively variegation of colour,” see N–H *ad Carm.* 2.5.11–12; cf. *Cic. Fin.* 2.10. On *uarietas* in Roman thought, with special reference to literature, see Fitzgerald 2016. **lutulenta:** the word is itself made up of muddled (liquid) sounds that are a good match for its sense; cf. its famous application to Lucilius at 1.4.11–12 (see Gowers *ad loc.*), where the word’s fluid sounds are played upon to underscore the point being made about the turgid compositional style of *Lucilius*: *fluere[t] lutulentus ... garrulus*.

84 Tyrias is given special emphasis via the long reach to its noun at the line end: “to put filthy coverlets on upholstery *that is Tyrian!*” The adjective implies not only that the cloth upholstery is imported (i.e. that it is of “Tyrian/Carthaginian” manufacture, not that it is necessarily “from Tyre”), but that it is purple (*OLD* s.v. 1b), and presumably very expensive. On the manufacture of Tyrian purple in antiquity, see Reinhold 1976, and Lowe 2004. For purple as a much-debated status symbol in ancient Rome, see Bradley 2009: 189–211. **illuta:** Muecke *ad loc.* follows Wackernagel 1927 in preferring *illuta* to *illota*. Both readings have solid MS support. Further supporting *illuta* is the muddling rhyme that the word forms with *lutulenta* in the prev. line (see n., and cf. the rhyme chain of lines 54–7 above). **dare:** takes *toralia* “coverlets” as its direct object, and has its sense completed by the prepositional phrase; cf. *OLD circumdo* 3 and 4c (used of clothing and coverings). The *toralia* were put on top of the dining couches, and left to dangle over the front in order to protect the upholstery (essentially couch napkins). Unlike the upholstery, the coverlets could be removed and washed.

85-7 One must supply *neglecta* with *haec* (the subject of the inf. *reprehendi* after *oblitum*) and *neglectis* with *illis*: “forgetting that, the less care and expense that these things [i.e. brooms, towels, sawdust, coverlets] involve, the more justly are they censured [when neglected] than are those things that [when neglected] pertain only to the tables of the rich.”

88 docte Catī is exclamatory and highly flattering, marking Cat. as an expert: “ah, what learning you possess, Catius!” **per ... rogatus** “by the gods, I beg you, seeing that we’re old friends” gives the impression of H.’s (comically abject) desperation; cf. Ter. *An.* 538 *per te deos oro et nostram amicitiam*.

89 auditum: supine.

90 memori ... pectore sounds a Lucretian note, picking up on the memory theme of the opening lines; see 2 and 11 nn., and cf. the use of *memori mente* at Lucr. 2.582 and 3.858.

91 non ... iuueris “still, as his interpreter, you’d not be as helpful [sc. as the man himself].” **interpre:** suggests that Cat. is endowed with divine insight, and that he serves as an intermediary between gods and mere mortals. As a swipe at Cat.’s reputation as a “bad translator” of Epicurus (see poem intro. above), see Classen 1978: 344. On the strong religious overtones of *interpre*, with special reference to the mysteries (where certain things cannot be named), see Ferri 1993: 54, n. 48, and cf. 10–12 above (see nn.) and *Ar.* 391–2. For his part, H. plays the zealous convert, expressing his strong desire for a live encounter (the full beatific vision, see 92 n.) with the anonymous *auctor* himself; cf. Lucr. 5.8–9 *deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memmi, qui princeps uitae rationem inuenit*.

92-3 “that you were blessed to see the man for yourself you think of little importance, because it happened to you.”

92 tu is emphatic, implying both “for yourself” and “as opposed to *me*.” **beatus** “blessed” mockingly designates Cat. as someone who has had the full beatific vision (see 91 n. and Fedeli *ad loc.*), in a direct encounter with “the god” and/or his mystical rites; cf. [Hom.] *H. Cer.* 480 “blessed are the earth-dwelling mortals who have seen such things,” and see Dodds 1960 *ad Eur. Bacch.* 72–4 “Oh happy and blest is the one who knows/has seen the gods’ rites.”

93 magni: gen. of value; see *NLS* §86, ii. **contigit:** sc. *tibi uidisse*; see *OLD* *contingo* 8c. The same infinitive clause (“your having seen him for yourself”) serves as the direct object of *pendis*. On infinitive phrases used as noun-clauses, constituting subjects and objects, see *NLS* §25.

94-5 The poem’s final lines recall, yet again (see 46 n.), Lucr. 1.926–8, where Lucretius stakes a strong claim to the originality of his poetry by posing as an inspired Bacchant who roams into the “pathless places” of the Muses in search of draughts of divine inspiration. For these lines as

the earliest example in Latin poetry “of the equation of poetic inspiration with a Bacchic *mania*,” much imitated by H. in his *Odes*, see Hardie 2009: 217–24.

95 uitaē praecepta beatae: by equating the culinary insights of a fastidious and luxury-loving cook with the highest teachings of moral philosophy, the poem’s parting words mockingly endorse Cat.’s grand claim to have come into possession of “unbeatable” wisdom (see 3 n.). The main goal of philosophy’s pursuit, according to all the major schools of antiquity, was the attainment of “blessedness/happiness” (Gk εὐδαιμονία) in the living of a “blessed life” (*uita beata*). It was understood that such a life was lived virtuously, and in accordance with nature, and this normally implied the rejection of (or strict, rational control over) wealth, bodily pleasures, and self-pampering; see K–H: 266, and cf. Sen. *De uita beata* 4.2, 8.1. However, in the case of Cat.’s culinary guru, whose precepts are a compilation in caricature of all the worst accusations made against the Epicureans by detractors from other schools, there is no distance between “the blessed” life and the pampered life of “the rich”; cf. the double-entendre of *beatus* “blessed/rich” at 8.1 (see n.) and at *Carm.* 2.2.18 *numero beatorum* (see Harrison *ad loc.*).

SATIRE 5

Like most other poems in the book, the fifth satire has the form of a conversation that readers “overhear.” But this conversation, unlike all others in the book, is picked up on not at the beginning, but somewhere farther along. The poem’s first words, *hoc quoque*, let readers know that they have missed out on some earlier part of this conversation, but it quickly becomes apparent that they know the whole of what has already transpired. What they have dropped in on is the (comic) continuation of the conversation that takes place between Odysseus and the blind seer Tiresias in the eleventh book of Homer’s *Odyssey*. The words that pass between them in this poem are the rest of that famous conversation that Homer, for reasons that quickly become obvious, thought it best to leave “un-narrated.”

As the poem begins, Tiresias (hereafter T.) has just finished telling Odysseus (Od.) that he is destined to return home penniless. Od. wants to know how he can become enormously wealthy again – his character is immediately established as scheming and venal. Peering into a future not located in the Homeric past, but in the present of this satire’s Roman readers, T. urges Od. to ingratiate himself with rich old men, using whatever means possible to get his name written into their wills. At first Od. objects to the idea, not because it is morally repugnant and/or out of

keeping with his heroic character, but because he is a modern Roman snob who refuses to consort with men of inferior birth, no matter how rich they are (see 19 n.). But when told that his refusal to debase himself by fawning upon his lessers dooms him to remain poor, Od. immediately changes his tune. Determined to have piles of wealth to match his high birth, he becomes all ears, eager to take in T.'s far-seeing advice (in the form of a mock-didactic *ars captandi*) on how to bilk rich men of their cash. By the time T. is done with him, Od. is ready to bring his legendarily chaste wife Penelope into the scheme as a partner, by having her entertain filthy old rich men in her bed.

This is the only fantasy satire that H. ever wrote. As such, it constitutes the poet's one most obvious foray into the world (minus the prosimetric form) of Menippean satire. For this satire's peculiar form nodding toward satire's other "kind," see Freudenburg 2013: 316–17, Bonandini 2012: 8–10. Menippus' masterwork, the *Nekyia*, inspired by earlier mock-mythic forms such as satyr drama (e.g. the comic consultation of Silenus by Odysseus in Euripides' *Cyclops*) and by the fantastical journeys of low characters in Old Comedy (most notably Dionysus' underworld sojourn in the *Frogs*), featured the Cynic philosopher himself, dressed up as Odysseus, consulting the dead.¹³ Varro's satire "On Suicide" (Περὶ Ἑξαγωγῆς) featured a conversation with Hannibal in the underworld,¹⁴ and in his "Ulysses and a Half" (*Sesqueulixes*) Varro seems to have described his many years away from Rome on military service (30 years, thus half again as many as Ulysses' 20) as a journey where he matches Ulysses' adventure for adventure. Once he returns home, he cannot help but notice how soft and luxurious life has become in his absence, and that in a place where the founders had been nurtured on wolf's milk (*ubi quod lupam alumni fellarunt olim*, fr. 476 Astbury). In the several fragments that are assigned to the end of the satire, the Odysseus figure laments the loss of Rome's old ways.

The fantastical journeys of Menippean heroes, whether to places far above or far below, provide them with radical new ways of seeing human endeavors: when seen from the moon by Lucian's *Icaromenippus*, human strivings shrink into insignificance, resembling the scurrying of insects (Lucian *Icar*: 19), all quite laughable. Such dislocations of place, in other words, provide dislocations of perspective that alienate viewers from the

¹³ Krenkel 2002, vol. II: 746: "Menippus von Gadara beschrieb seine Fahrt zu Tiresias, um ihn nach der besten Art zu leben zu befragen." The work will later be imitated by Lucian in his *Nekyiomantia*.

¹⁴ See Krenkel 2002, vol. II: 746–8.

close up and the everyday, and that shrink human endeavors down to a laughably puny size. What looks important from up close seems ridiculous when pulled back from and seen for what it amounts to against the vastness of space and time. As pointed out by Sallman 1970: 187–8, in what remains the most incisive analysis of the satiric workings of this poem, such fantastical dislocations into far off and fantastical places serve to open a “satiric distance” between the satire’s readers and their own lives, besides giving the satirist a place to hide as he points and laughs. Because he is so far off, those who are subjected to the satirist’s disapproving gaze take no notice of him. They do not trouble to disguise their vain and criminal doings because they have no idea that they are being watched.

Unlike many Menippean satires that relate the far-flung travels of an Odysseus character, this poem does not feature as its star a scoffing satirist figure who sits in judgment while looking on from some distant place. Instead, all moral judgments concerning the deplorable behaviors that are described by the poem must be supplied by readers themselves, for the poem’s “heroes” have chosen not to disparage, but to go along with and make the most of “the way things are these days,” in what turns out to be not the mythic past, but the present day; not Homer’s Ithaca of many centuries before, but the Rome of H.’s own day. Much of the humor of the poem comes from the anachronisms and cultural mismatches that shatter the mythic frame (“komischer, anachronistischer Durchbrechung des mythischen Rahmens,” Knorr 2004: 202; see nn. below at 4, 14, 49, 55–69, 105–9). The heroes are debased by being turned into scoundrels. This certainly is a source of humor in the poem. But in the case of Od., the hero’s reputation was already significantly tarnished, having often been subjected to disparaging and/or humorous (at times lewd) construal. For the Stoics, Od. was a hero who endured physical challenges and overcame temptations to reach his goal (Montiglio 2011: 73–94). For the Neoplatonists, his wanderings symbolized the earthly sojourns of the human soul seeking a return to its true home (Montiglio 2005: 42–5). For the Epicureans, Od. epitomized the values that were taught by the school (Gordon 2012: 38–60; Montiglio 2011: 95–100). But not all philosophers were so charitable. Plato took a dim view of Od.’s praise of the dazzling banquets of the Phaeacians (*Rep.* 3.390a–b, citing Hom. *Od.* 9.5–11). Presenting himself in the guise of Od., Democritus (fr. B299.6–8 DK) declares himself superior to his model because, he says, Od. had wandered about the world searching for wealth like a Phoenician merchant. In a fragment of his treatise *On Flattery* (*PHerc.* 233 fr. 3), Philodemus ridicules Od. for his parasitic hunger. In the Cyclical epic poems and in Attic drama (e.g. Sophocles’ *Philoctetes*) Od. is more of an unscrupulous liar and schemer than he is an upright hero, and in Middle and New Comedy

he is an audacious cad (*Vlixem ... audacem et malum*, Plaut. *Bac.* 949) who has more in common with clever slaves and parasites than he does with his namesake in the *Odyssey* (see Gratwick 1993: 223, commenting on Plaut. *Men.* 902 *meus Vlixes*).

Od. comes to this poem having been pre-debased by numerous disapproving philosophers and by writers of comedy, satyr drama and farce. His debasement, while funny, is nothing new. What is new is his construal as a scheming *Roman* cad whose portfolio of wiles needs to be brought up to date in order for him to get by in a modern, non-heroic world where giant wooden horses no longer do the trick. To wheedle his way into the lives of rich Romans and take them by storm, as he once did the citadel of Troy (see 73–4 n.), he must develop street smarts that are utterly alien to his heroic world, but reflect cynically upon Roman realities, as a warped “reflection” of things familiar to the satire’s Roman readers.

The particular absurdity under the microscope in this poem is not human greed, but Roman *amicitia*. This satire invites readers to take a radically new and cynical perspective on the workings of Roman friendship by stripping it of its respectability, leading them to see it not for what it “really” is, but at its comical worst (what it perhaps sometimes amounted to). As pointed out by Champlin 1989: 212 in his study of Roman wills: “*captatio* is merely *amicitia* viewed in a negative light.” Though known primarily as a bugbear of moralizers and satirists, the phenomenon of legacy-hunting was something real in the Roman world: “legacy-hunters had hit upon a transmission fault in the passage of wealth from one generation to the next” (Hopkins 1983: 237). Damon 1997: 121 points out that the *captator* was rarely encountered in Latin literature before Horace (once in Plautus, and several times in Cicero): “but Horace, with the help of the comic parasite, defined the type for subsequent generations.” The rich tradition of slippery and salacious *captatores* found in Seneca, Petronius, Juvenal and many others (for a much fuller list, see Champlin 1991, appendix 4) looks back to this poem, whether directly or indirectly, as its principal source. In addition, as Labate 1984: 175–6 points out (*pace* Ribbeck and Lejay), this poem serves as an important model of Ovidian mock-didactic. For multiple verbal and thematic parallels between this poem and Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*, see Wildberger 1998: 415.

Like several other poems in the book (e.g. as already seen in 1–3), this satire carries a sting in its tail. At lines 105–9 T. imagines a point in Od.’s future where, having at last received a share of a rich man’s estate, he will need to re-invest those funds by offering a gift to the oldest and sickest of his co-heirs, enough for him to purchase a house or a farm. Taking a remarkably dim view of respectable Roman practice, T. makes clear that, as far as he is concerned, the *patronus* is a *captator* under a different name,

working at a higher level of the same game. Calculating in his kindness, the patron gives away homes and farms as things that will bounce back to him later. Seen in a cynical light, such “kind” outlays of patrons are investments that look toward a future payoff, creating debts of *gratia* that the legacies of the deceased will cover, besides bringing in large measures of “thanks” in other forms. After T. says a quick goodbye in 110, the book’s next poem opens with words of gratitude, spoken by H., for the gift of a farm. Having lost his estate while away at war, H. (an Odysseus character in his own right) has at last found his way home.

The “joining” (*iunctura*) of the end of this poem to the beginning of the next is striking (a *callida iunctura* worthy of Tacitus; see the volume intro. above). As often in H., the general humor has a particular edge. In this case, it touches on the transactional nature of H.’s relationship to his patron, Maecenas. As Damon 1997: 127 points out: “Horace seems to have been accused, repeatedly, of preying on Maecenas.” Besides whatever else H. is doing *qua* satirist in this poem, he is holding certain aspects of his own life at arm’s length and giving them a critical look (as seen by others). Under the guise of this poem’s scheming and self-seeking Od., we see H. playing along with some of the cynical put-downs that both he and Maecenas, his farm-doling friend, had been subjected to by uncharitable outsiders, who construed poetry as a form of flattery for pay. That idea was introduced by Trebatius in 2.1.10–15 (see nn.), where the jurisconsult recommends to H. that he take up writing panegyric as a means of raking in rich rewards, and he cites a famous passage of Furius Bibaculus’ *Annales Belli Gallici* to prove his point. That epic’s bombast is again sent up via parodic quotation in this poem (lines 39–41), as if to remind readers what the poet’s *ars captandi* sounds like. Lines 60–4 are powerfully redolent of praise-laden hexameters as well, but in the latter case the most obvious points of contact are with Virgil’s *Eclogues*, including the famous “Messianic” eclogue (4, see 62–3 n.) and the first eclogue, where Tityrus praises some godlike *iuuenis* for allowing him to stay on his farm (see 62 n.). As so often happens in the satires of this book, the crucial question is not “what” is being sent up by the poem, but “what else” is being sent up by it, as the walls separating targets from friends seem to shift, and sometimes to disappear altogether.

1 Hoc quoque “this too.” The poem’s opening words suggest that a conversation is being picked up somewhere in the middle. Other dialogue satires of H. begin abruptly, but no other begins so pointedly *in medias res*; see Frischer 1983 on H.’s striking use of the “inceptive *quoque*” in this line. **Tiresia** is vocative. The hero’s Greek name (Τειρεσίας, -ου) follows the Latin first declension (*Tiresias*, -ae), but retains traces of its Greek case

forms (e.g. acc. ending in *-an*); cf. *Aeneas*, *-ae* from Gk Αἰνείας, *-ou*. Tiresias was the blind seer and prophet priest (*uates*) of numerous Greek myths (see poem intro. above). **praeter narrata**: the content of what Tiresias has already told Odysseus must be supplied from memories of Homer's *Odyssey*. At *Od.* 11. 90-137 Tiresias informs the hero that he has offended Poseidon, that his home has been ravaged by reckless suitors who are trying to sleep with his wife, and that he has many years of hard toil ahead. Upon hearing this, Odysseus responds by requesting further information. Further on this satire's opening as an irreverent "sequel" to the conversation that takes place in Homer's *Odyssey*, see Plaza 2006: 72-3. For the meta-poetic potentials of the phrase *praeter narrata*, "signaling satire's generic departure from epic," see Braund and Osgood 2012: 7. **petenti**: sc. *mihi*.

2 responde: for the verb used of the response of an oracle or soothsayer, see *OLD* s.v. 4c, and cf. *OLD responsum* 2a. **amissas ... res** "my lost wealth." The question immediately marks Od. as comically scheming and venal: rather than asking about the well-being of his family members, or how he might escape death and defeat the suitors, he asks about money. For humorously debased representations of Odysseus in satyr plays and Menippean satire, see poem intro. above.

3 artibus atque modis "stratagems and methods." The same phrase can be heard as the question of a scheming poet as he wonders "by what (poetic) arts and measures/meters" he might strike it rich. **quid rides?** Nadeau 2013: 42 connects T.'s laughter here to that of Athena at Hom. *Od.* 13.291-5. There, having just heard the hero's elaborate false tale, the goddess laughs and says: "What a scoundrel you are, so intricate in your schemes, and of such unquenchable guile!" (σχέτλιε, ποικιλομήτα, δόλων ἄτ', 293). **iamne** should be taken closely with *non satis est* in the next line: "is it no longer enough"? **doloso** "full of tricks/guile" refers to Odysseus' famous characterization as a man "of many wiles" (πολύμητις) and "of many turns/resourceful" (πολύτροπος); see Barnouw 2004: 27-8.

4 Ithacam reuehi "sail back to Ithaca." In the case of towns and small islands, the accusative is used without a preposition to express the goal or direction of movement, see *NLS* §§5 and 7. **patriosque Penates** "ancestral home" (*OLD Penates* 3). Courtney 2013a: 145 suggests that the phrase perhaps derives from Ennius, because the exact same phrase occurs at Virg. *Aen.* 2.717. Technically the *Penates* (tutelary "household gods") were cultivated only in Roman homes; cf. Macr. 3.4.6 *de dis quoque Romanorum propriis, id est Penatibus*. But the term is sometimes transferred to non-Roman homes; see N-R *ad Carm.* 3.27.49, and cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.527 and 4.21, referring to the "homes" (*penates*) of non-Romans in Libya and Tyre. Here, however, the term's Roman-ness has a particular relevance, standing out

as the poem's first indication that timescales and geographic boundaries (mythic Ithaca/contemporary Rome) are being collapsed to humorous effect.

5 o nulli quicquam mentite "oh you, who tell lies to nobody." The phrase has the look of a riddle: on the one hand, it flatters T. by recognizing his superior skills as a prophet; cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 137 (Tiresias to Odysseus) "all that I am telling you is the un-erring truth." On the other, it recalls the verbal trick that Od. had used to dupe the Cyclops, when he told him that his name was "nobody" (*Od.* 9.366). For the proliferation of such ironic ambiguities in this poem, cf. below and 59-60 (see nn.). **quicquam**: internal acc. **uides ut**: for the regular use of the phrase introducing indirect (rhetorical) questions and exclamations, see N-H *ad Carm.* 1.9.1 *uides ut alta ... nive?* Despite being common and unexceptional in itself, the phrase stands out here as exactly the wrong (comically tone-deaf) way for Od. to pose his question to T.: he is asking it ("do you see?") of a blind man.

6 te uate "with you as prophet," i.e. "as you yourself have predicted," but with overtones of a complaint made by a disappointed and impatient man: "given how gloomy your prophecies are." In fact, the tale that Tiresias tells Odysseus about his future in *Od.* 11 is so unrelievedly dire that it falls short of telling the whole of "the un-erring truth" that Tiresias has promised to tell (see prev. n.). Most importantly (and crucial to the narrative design of this satire; see Nadeau 2013: 42-3), T. makes no mention of the fact that Od. will return to Ithaca loaded with gold and bronze given to him by the Phaeacians, a fabulously wealthy man disguised as a beggar. This satire requires readers to ignore what they know about Od.'s Phaeacian windfall, and to assume (as T. gives him to believe via his gloomy prophecy) that he is on his own to restore his fortunes.

7 apotheca "storeroom," transliterated from Greek ἀποθήκη. When used by Latin authors, the term refers to the wine-cellars of Roman luxury villas, as well as to the storage facilities of income-generating farms (*latifundia*) that produced wine on an industrial scale. The word is not found in Homer, and occurs elsewhere in Roman poetry only at Phaed. 4.5.25, where it symbolizes a drunkard's ideal opportunity for drunken excess: *potrici plenam antiquis apothecam cadis*. **pecus** "livestock" (a collective singular) refers to all the swine, sheep, goats and cows that the suitors are said to have consumed in the course of their ongoing party *qua* siege of Od.'s palace. The first view that Homer provides of Odysseus' overrun palace at *Od.* 1.106-12 finds the suitors doing exactly what Od. complains of here: upon approaching the palace, disguised as Mentès, Athena sees the suitors lounging on the hides of cows that they have slaughtered and eaten, and being served wine from Odysseus' store; cf. the suitor-like rapacity of

Marc Antony, famously excoriated by Cicero at *Phil.* 3.31. On the important symbolic function of meat consumption in Homer's *Odyssey*, see Bakker 2013.

8 genus “family line” here implies “noble descent”; see *OLD* s.v. 1b, and cf. *Ep.* 1.6.36–7. **uirtus**: according to all the major allegorical readings of Homer promoted by the philosophical schools of antiquity, Odysseus was a paragon of virtue and self-denial (see poem intro above). Here he dismisses those admirable qualities as so much trash: worth less than *alga* “seaweed,” unless accompanied by wealth. The more common, and much more highly principled reckoning, captured in the proverb of *Ep.* 1.1.52, put virtue's value higher than that of gold: *uilius argentum est auro, uirtutibus aurum*. The worthlessness of seaweed was itself proverbial (see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.17.10 *alga ... inutili*), but Od.'s citation of the proverb here has a specific, and mildly comedic, characterizing function: having spent many years lost at sea, he has highly personal reasons for hating seaweed and thinking it worthless (these are the words of an old sea dog, as he speaks of what he knows); on this point, see Cucchiarelli *ad Ecl.* 7.42 *proiecta uilior alga*.

9 pauperiem is the condition of someone who is poor, but self-sufficient (contrast *egestas* and *miseria*, which describe conditions of utter destitution). There was a long tradition in Rome of praising poverty as “the mother of effort and invention” (see N–H *ad Carm.* 1.12.41–3), and multiple philosophical traditions treated poverty as “an honorable and happy thing”; (*honesta ... res est laeta paupertas*, Sen. *Ep.* 2.5, citing a maxim of Epicurus); see Rosivach 1995. Stripped of his legendary bravery and long-suffering in this satire, Od. has no interest in “enduring poverty with courage” (*animose paupertatem ferentem*, Sen. *Ep.* 120.9). Rather, he trembles (*horres*) at the very thought of being poor. **missis ambagibus** “leaving verbal evasions aside,” i.e. “to put the matter bluntly”; cf. Ov. *Her.* 7.149 where *ambage remissa* refers to Od.'s legendary verbal “evasiveness” while playing upon the famous turns and “meanderings” of his travels; see Knox 1995 *ad loc.*

10 accipe “learn” (see 3.233 n.). **turdus** “thrush” was a delicacy highly prized by gourmands; see Kissel *ad Pers.* 6.24 (esp. p. 798, n. 120), and cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.15.40–1, Mart. 13.92. The raising of fattened thrushes was an extremely lucrative business; see Var. *R.* 3.2.15 and 3.4.1. For “fat thrushes” as gifts given by *captatores* in pursuit of legacies, cf. Mart. 2.40.3. For small birds as gifts of erotic seduction, see Dunbar 1995 *ad Aristoph. Birds* 704–7, McKeown *ad Ov. Am.* 2.6.19, and 12 n. below.

11 priuum “your very own,” i.e. “as yours [to enjoy] for yourself”; cf. *Ep.* 1.1.93, Juv. 8.68–9.

12 dulcia poma: tree-fruits (apples, pears, quinces, etc.) were given as gifts in various contexts: by lovers as tokens of affection, and as tools

of seduction (see Littlewood 1968, and cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 3.64, Prop. 1.3.24); satirically, as a primitive lover's "payment" for sex (see Gale 2009 *ad* Lucr. 5.962–5); as gifts offered to a literary patron (Tib. 1.5.31–2 *huc ueniet Messala meus, cui dulcia poma* | *Delia selectis detrahat arboribus*); and, as here, as gifts given by *captatores* to fleece the elderly rich (Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.78–9). On multiple connections between the tactics of elegiac lovers and those of parasites and legacy-hunters (with frequent reference to this poem), see Labate 1984: 175–226.

13 honores "splendors," i.e. "glorious specimens" (*OLD* s.v. 6b) of produce that are grown on the farm, but also in this case = "honors paid" to rich potential benefactors (*OLD* s.v. 2b), who here stand in for the gods (next n.). For similar uses of *honor* in a concrete sense, cf. *Epod.* 11.6, Tib. 1.7.53.

14 Larem ... Lare: spoken by a μάντις/*uates*, the repetition of the divinity's name within the same verse mimics habits of ritual language, hymns, and prayers; cf. Tib. 1.7.49–50 *huc ades et Genium ludis Geniumque choreis* | *concelebra*. On verbal gemination as a feature of ritual and revelatory language, see Wills 61–2; cf. Rossi 1989: 12 on the "anaphora polyptoton" of Theoc. *Id.* 17.1. The *Lares* (sing. *Lar familiaris*) were closely associated with the *Penates* (see 4 n.). They provided protection for all the members of the *familia*, including slaves. The humble rituals whereby they were venerated by small offerings and prayers are referred to in these lines. For their decidedly odd (much too overtly Roman) presence in this (presumably Greek mythological) poem, cf. above on the *Penates* of line 4 (see n.). **uenerabilior** "more deserving of veneration," but here playing upon the word's presumed etymological connections and/or sonic similarities with *Venus* (the rich old man is pursued as if he were an object of erotic desire, see 10 and 12 nn.), and *uenari* ("to hunt"), a common metaphor for the pursuit of legacies by *captatores* (see 12 n., and cf. Mart. 4.56). Heard for these resonances, the rich old man is "more seductive/more worth chasing after" than the family Lar.

15 sine gente "without family" implies not that the man has no family *per se*, but that he is of low and disreputable family background (see 19 n.) rather than *generosus* ("of noble birth"). Only persons who were freeborn (*ingenui, -ae*) or who had been set free (*liberti, -ae*) could claim to belong to a Roman *gens* "clan" (*OLD* s.v. 6). Clan affiliation was designated by the possession of a *nomen gentilicium*, i.e. the all-important second name in a *tria nomina* system of nomenclature, e.g. Quintus Horatius Flaccus.

17 comes exterior "walking toward his outside," i.e. guarding the man's exposed flank as he walks alongside the buildings that line the street. It is assumed that the lying and murderous scoundrel who is thus accompanied has much to fear from enemies who want him dead, and that his

one-man escort (rather pathetic; he has no other friends) will be the first to go. For walking on the outside as a show of respect, cf. *Ov. Fast.* 5.67–8 “[an elder] used to walk surrounded by young men, and the young men didn’t resent it. And if he had only one attendant, he [the elder] would walk along the inside (*ibat et interior, si comes unus erat*).” On traveling in a rich man’s entourage as a duty expected of lesser friends, cf. *S.* 1.5, 2.6.42–6 (see n.), and see Braund *ad Juv.* 1.46.

18 utne introduces an exclamatory deliberative question, spoken in disbelief; see *NLS* §175 and *OLD* *ut* 44. **Damae**: a common slave name (Gk Δάμας). The name was often used as a slur (in the sense of “some lowlife”) by persons of high birth in contemptuous dismissals of persons of servile origin; cf. 1.6.38, and see Kissel *ad Pers.* 5.76 *hic Dama est*. In fact, some of the most outstanding moral characters in Homer’s *Odyssey* are slaves and impoverished exiles (e.g. Eumaeus, Theoklymenos, Eurykleia), and Odysseus both treats them with respect and relies on their help as partners in his cause. Rather, it is the well-born suitors who despise men of low birth and go out of their way to taunt and abuse them.

19 melioribus “men of a better sort.” *Od.* speaks as a Roman snob (cf. prev. n.), obsessed with issues of birth, refusing to consort with lesser men. The basic vocabulary of moral worth in Latin (*bonus/melior/optimus, malus/peior/pessimus*) is also the basic vocabulary of rank and social class.

20 fortem is predicative: “I will order my heart to be brave and put up with it.” Upon hearing the word *pauper*, *Od.* changes his mind, deciding that he will, in fact, debase himself to scoundrels of the worst sort for the sake of pursuing gain. The phrase *animum ... iubebo* recalls *Hom. Od.* 20.18, where Odysseus says “Deal with it, heart! You have put up with worse.” At *Plato Rep.* 390d, Socrates makes a rare concession to the educational value of Homer’s poems by quoting this line as an admirable lesson in self-control and endurance.

22 ruam “dig up” (*OLD* s.v. 9). **augur**: Augurs were experts at divining the will of the gods by observing signs in nature, e.g. the flight of birds within a designated space (*templum*); see B–N–P, vol. I: 21–8 and 183. Although the term refers to divinatory practices that were much more highly elaborated in Etrusco-Roman religion than they were among the Greeks, the poems of Homer feature numerous scenes of signs being taken from the flight of birds. Among the Greeks at Troy, Calchas was considered “the best augur by far” (*Hom. Il.* 1.69). For Tiresias as an augur in Greek tragedy, cf. *Soph. OT* 484 and *Eur. Bacch.* 257.

23 equidem (here = *quidem*) emphasizes the past tense of *dixi*, opposing it to the present tense of *dico*: “I *have* told you and *am* telling you.” For *quidem/equidem* providing a contrastive emphasis, i.e. emphasizing one statement, word or phrase “while directing our attention to another which

contrasts with the first,” see Solodow 1978: 13. **astutus** “smart/clever,” but with decidedly sinister connotations (“sneaky,” “shifty”); cf. [Acro] *ad loc.*: “*astutus*” in *malis dicitur*, “*acutus*” in *bonis*, ut *Scipio acutus*, *Hannibal astutus*.

24 unus et alter (lit.) “one and another” is commonly used in the sense of “one or two” or “a few”; see *OLD* s.v. *alter** 6, and Freudenburg 2017.

25 insidiatorem designates someone who sets a trap and lies in wait. In this case = *piscatorem* “the fisherman.” **praeroso** “having nibbled away at.” For the metaphor of the legacy-hunter as a fisherman baiting hooks, cf. Mart. 2.40.4, 4.56.4–5.

27 res “a case” contested in a court of law (*OLD* s.v. 11).

28 uter “whichever of the two” (sc. contestants in the court case) is not an interrogative adjective, but a relative pronoun (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

29 uocet: the characterizing subjunctive is concessive (“although he’s a crook who has the audacity to summon a better man to court”). The solemn legal imperative *esto* (see Muecke *ad loc.*, and cf. 3.181 *sacer esto*) mimics both the language and syntax of Twelve Tables I: *si in ius uocat, <ito>*; cf. 2.1.82–3 *si mala condiderit ... esto*, referencing Twelve Tables VIII.1 (see n.).

30 defensor “the counsel for the defense,” whose usual strategies (*certi loci*) included, according to Cic. *Inv.* 2.51: “indignantly exposing the malice of the accusers” and “seeking mercy through piteous complaints.” The term is artfully postponed, and comes as a surprise. As Muecke points out *ad loc.*, it conveys advice about how the case is to be manipulated: T. is suggesting that Od. “defend” the rich scoundrel as if he were the wrongly assailed injured party rather than the aggressor. On predatory “volunteer advocates” as a distinct type, see Damon 1997: 22–8, on Cicero’s portrayal of Aebutius at Cic. *Caec.* 13–14. **fama ... causaque**: abl. of respect with *priorem*: “better in reputation and case.”

32–7 The lines offer an imaginary lesson in how the unscrupulous *captator* is to set his trap: he must pose as an intimate friend, and an expert in the ambiguities of the law, whose interests lie solely in defending the man’s reputation and protecting his wealth, by actively insisting that his friend is a man of unimpeachable virtue rather than a complete scoundrel, and by pretending that he himself has nothing to gain from defending him: his motivations are those of a well-meaning friend. Marx 1932: 304 pointed out that the Latin names casually dropped by T. are the *praenomina* of none other than Horace and Virgil respectively – an idea dismissed as “troppo fantasioso” by Fedeli *ad loc.* By this point in their careers, H. and Virgil met the basic requirements of *captandi*: life-long bachelors, both were childless and financially well off. Whereas some might view their success through envious eyes, as that of poet *captatores* in pursuit of a childless rich man (Maecenas; see intro. above), others might see them as prey to be pursued.

32 puta “suppose, for example” (*OLD* s.v. 9b). **gaudent praenomine**: as a “clanless” *Dama* (see above 15 and 19 nn.), the *captator*’s gullible target loves having his ears stroked by the sound of his own first name because the *praenomen* marks him as a free man. Slaves had no *praenomina*, but received one upon being set free through a formal process of manumission; cf. Pers. 5.78–9 *uerterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit | Marcus Dama*. Further on *praenomina* used as devices of flattery, see Dickey 2002: 65–7. **molles** “soft” in the sense of “easily influenced” (*OLD* s.v. 12); cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.14.4 where, in promising to adopt a more flexible demeanor, Cicero promises his brother that he will become “softer than the lobe of your ear.”

33 auriculae: for the diminutive form designating ears that are gullible and/or receptive to flattery, see Freudenburg 2001: 170–5, 180–2, Kissel *ad* Pers. 1.22 and Gale 1994: 135 on the fanciful etymological play (deriving *auricula* from *auere*) of Lucr. 4.594. **me uirtus tua fecit amicum**: shielding his designs on the rich man’s wealth, the flatterer insists that his friendship is based on the highest of principles; cf. Lucr. 1.140–2 *sed tua me uirtus tamen et sperata uoluptas | suavis amicitiae quemuis efferre laborem | suadet*, Cic. *Amic.* 20, and see 6.75 n.

34 ius anceps “the law’s ambiguities” (*OLD* *anceps* 9). As an expert in the law’s inscrutability (a running theme in the book; cf. 1.81, 2.131, 4.63), the flatterer claims to have the legal expertise of a juriconsult (see 1.4 n.). **causas defendere possum**: the flatterer claims to possess the oratorical skills of an *aduocatus/defensor*. Normally one provided either expert legal advice (Trebatius), or oratorical skills (Cicero), but not both.

35 eripiet ... oculos citius “he’ll be quicker to rip my eyes out,” i.e. “he’ll have to rip my eyes out first.” The colorful expression takes many forms, and is esp. common in comedy; see Nutting 1922, and cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 759, Ter. *Ad.* 318. For swearing by one’s eyes, as the *captator* does in a roundabout way here, see *OLD* *oculus* 1d, and cf. Plaut. *Men.* 156–7. The phrase *eripere lumen* has the same basic sense, but is common in higher registers of poetry and prose; see Gaertner 2005 *ad* Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.57 *ereptaque lumina*.

36 contemptum “treated with disdain,” i.e. “like a nobody” (see next n.). **cassa nuce** “an empty nut,” i.e. “nutshell.” Outside of this verse, the evidence for the proverbial worthlessness of “empty” and “rotten” nuts derives exclusively from Plautine comedy; see Otto 248. **pauperet** “despoil you of” (c. abl. of separation). The verb is a playful colloquialism (“pauperate”) of Roman comedy. Before its use here, the rare, archaic verb is found only three times in Plautus, and once in Titinius, and always in contexts that feature strong alliterative play, e.g. *Mil.* 729 *dominum pretio pauperet*.

37 iocus “a laughing-stock”; cf. Catul. 42.3 *iocum me putat esse moecha turpis*.

38 pelliculam curare “tend to his sweet little skin,” i.e. “pamper himself.” The phrase implies bodily pampering, and a vacuous attention to one’s (presumably good) looks, i.e. “prinking”; cf. Pers. 4.18, Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.29. Playing on the man’s vanity, the *captator* tells him to leave his legal worries to him, and go back to worrying about his remarkably handsome self. The sentimental diminutive *pelliculam* (cf. 3.10 *uillula*, see n.) captures the wheedling tone of the *captator*’s words to his “friend.” **fi**: the imperative form is found elsewhere only at Plaut. *Cur.* 87–9 and *Per.* 38. **cognitor** designates a legal representative who was empowered not only to represent, but to stand in for, his client in court; see Paul. *Fest.* p. 49, Gaius *Inst.* 4.83 and McKeown *ad Ov. Am.* 1.12.24.

39 persta atque obdura: i.e. displaying the persistence of Homer’s Odysseus. For endurance as a pre-eminent quality of the *Odyssey*’s hero, see Garvie 1994 *ad Hom. Od.* 6.1.

39–41 To express the simple idea “no matter how intensely hot, or how extremely cold,” T. indulges in two lofty figurative conceits, each of which has the markings of a parodic sendup of known lines of poetry, presumably of dubious quality. The first image has the blazing “She Pup” or “Lap-Dog” Star, *Canicula*, “splitting unspeaking statues,” a phrase that perhaps sounds too much like “infant statues,” besides suggesting that statues were somehow silent by choice (pathetic fallacy), or “tongue-tied” (*OLD infans* 1b); see Fedeli *ad loc.*, Courtney 2013a: 146, n. 242. On the proverbial silence of statues, see Otto 331. Though commonly confused with it, the star in question is not the “Dog Star,” Sirius (*Canis Maior*), but the “Lesser Dog,” *Canis Minor*, known in Greek as Προκύων, lit. the “Dog Out Front” or “Lead Hound,” because it is the star “Before the Dog,” i.e. rising just ahead of Sirius, the “Scorcher.” Further on *Canis Minor*, see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.29.18 *iam Procyon furit*, where the star’s signature “fury” is perhaps a clue to its use here (see below on *Furius* Bibaculus, who may well be the overheated “Lap-Dog” in question).

Lending support to Muecke’s suggestion *ad loc.* that the curious phrase “could be a parodic quotation” are the literary polemics of late- and post-Hellenistic epigram that feature dog insults of various kinds; e.g. Philip *Anth. Pal.* 11.321.2, attacking nitpicking grammarian-poets as “puppies of Zenodotus” (Ζηνοδότου σκύλακες), and Antiphanes *Anth. Pal.* 11.322.4, berating them as “lead hounds of Callimachus (Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες).” Further on the canine insults of Greek epigram, see Gow and Page 1965, vol. II: 114, Cairns 2016: 166–72, and Watson on Hor. *Epod.* 6. On the further potentials of “lead hound” as an insult, see LSJ Προκύων 2.II “lap-dog,” “flatterer.”

The second image features a certain *Furius* “spitting all over” (*conspuit*) the Alps with snow. The line has long been recognized as a derisive adaptation of a verse from the lost *Annales Belli Gallici* by M. Furius Bibaculus, which had Jupiter spitting snow on the Alps. Both [Acro] and Porph. *ad loc.* cite the original version of the line, crediting it to Furius Bibaculus by name: *Iuppiter hibernas cana niue conspuit Alpes*. Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.17 cites this line as an instance of a metaphor taken too far. While Quintilian makes no room for Bibaculus in his canon of Rome’s most distinguished epic poets (10.1.85–92), he names him as one of Rome’s three most noteworthy iambic poets at *Inst.* 10.1.96, putting him on a par with Catullus and H. The testimonia and surviving fragments of Bibaculus’ *Annales* are substantial; see *FLP* 195–200. The poem comes in for ribbing at 2.1.15 (see n.), where it is cited as a model for how to write poetry that is politically safe, and financially lucrative. The epic’s citation here (undisputed in the case of *conspuit Alpes*, and possible in the case of *findet infantes statuas*) thus fits nicely with this satire’s overall theme: flattery as a means to financial success.

40 omaso “tripe,” dismissed as “cheap” and “common” at *Ep.* 1.15.34–5. Here it symbolizes an overly rich style that was peculiar to Furius’ *Annales* (see prev. n.). Bramble 1974: 64 points out that *omasum* (“a peculiarly rich and nauseating type of food”) is a Gallic word, and that “H. has wickedly chosen F.’s local dish as the vehicle for his metaphor” – Bibaculus was himself a Gaul from Cremona, in Cisalpine Gaul. Further on the literary metaphors of swelling, cold, bursting/splitting and fat that H. repeatedly uses to disparage Furius, see Bramble 1974: 64–6, and Gowers *ad* 1.10.36–7.

43 inquiet is third-person singular future indicative of *inquam*. The rare form occurs elsewhere only in Cicero and the *Rhet. Her.* (ten times), most often in juridical contexts, e.g. *Ver.* 2.45.

44 thynni “tuna” are the catch of choice here, because Mediterranean bluefins (*thunnus thynnus*) are massive in size, sometimes growing up to a thousand pounds and they travel exclusively in shoals, i.e. to catch one is to catch the lot. **cetaria** “fishponds” in this case are also the “salting vats” in which the tuna, once quartered, were desiccated and preserved as *salsamenta* “salt fish” (their guts being fermented as *garum/liquamen*). For this second sense, see [Acro] *ad loc.* and Curtis 1991: 53, n. 43. There is a case to be made for keeping both senses in play here, because the confusion invites one to think of the nasty surprise that awaits the fish as they are lured to their demise: what they approach as a “pond” where they can feed themselves fat ends up being a “vat” for salting their flayed carcasses.

45–6 in re | praeclara “in fabulous wealth” (*OLD res* 1). **sublatus** “having been lifted up,” i.e. “acknowledged” (sc. as a son by his father). A Roman

father had the right to reject or accept a child as his own, and thus to undertake the responsibility of raising the child or not. He signaled his willingness to accept the child by “lifting” the newborn from the ground (the baby was presented to him by being laid at his feet; see *OLD tollo* 2, and cf. *OLD suscipio* 4) and laying him/her on his knees. Newborns who were unacknowledged by their fathers were commonly exposed. Further on the practice, and the Roman father’s *ius exponendi*, see Fayer 1994: 179–210. In the hypothetical case that T. considers here, the father has a son whom he has acknowledged – the peculiar syntax of *in re praeclare sublatus* invites one to picture the boy being “raised up onto” a fabulous pile of wealth by his father’s acknowledgment. The son thus stands in the *captator*’s way as heir to his father’s abundant wealth. But because the son is sickly (*ualidus male*), T. deems the rich father worth pursuing.

47 caelibis: objective genitive with *obsequium*: “shameless kowtowing to an unmarried man.”

48 adrepe “creep your way toward,” here with *in* + acc. The rare word has sinister undertones, suggesting that the man is devious and reptilian (“creepy”); cf. Var. *R.* 3.7.3 *ne mus aut lacerta qua adrepere ad columbaria possit*. For the word applied to nefarious persons who worm their way into the good graces of the powerful, cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.158, Tac. *Ann.* 1.74. **ut:** introduces an epexegetic clause (*OLD ut* 39) in apposition to *spem* (“the object of one’s hopes,” *OLD spes* 4) in the prev. line: “creep your way toward your goal: to be written down as his second heir.” For further examples of the construction *in spem* followed by an epexegetic *ut* clause, see Palmer *ad loc.*

49 puerum egerit Orco “has driven the boy to Orcus.” This use of the dative of end of motion (*Orco* = *ad Orcum*), with the underworld/death as that end, is as old as epic itself; cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.3 ἄϊδι προΐαψεν (“hurled down to Hades”). The grand phrase constitutes a momentary flight into the high sounds and grand conceits of archaic epic and/or tragedy; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.785 *miserit Orco*, 9.527 *demiserit Orco*. Like Hades, who is his rough Greek equivalent, Orcus is both ruler of the underworld and a name for the underworld itself. Unlike his Greek counterpart, the native Etrusco-Italic deity was conceived of as a hairy monster with massive man-eating jaws (English “ogre” derives from *Orcus*, through French). His entree into the conversation here introduces yet another decidedly Italic element into what purports to be a further elaboration of a Greek mythological theme (cf. above 4 and 14 nn., on the *Lares* and *Penates*). The momentary rise into a grand, archaic register of language is humorously misaligned with the crass advice that is being given, perhaps to suggest the fake pathos that the *captator* will have to engage in in pretending to bewail the boy’s (highly advantageous) death.

50 *perraro haec alea fallit* “this gambit almost never fails.”

51 *qui ... cumque* = *quicumque* (tmesis).

52 *memento* “you must remember.” For the command in didactic and mock-didactic contexts, cf. 4.12 above (see n.), Lucr. 2.66, Hor. *Ep.* 1.8.16, and (in obvious parody, as here) Ov. *Ars* 2.201 *si flebit, flere memento*.

53 *sic tamen, ut* “and yet (do so) in such a way that.” *limis* (sc. *oculis*) “with a sideways glance.”

53–4 *quid prima secundo | cera uelit uersu* “what the first wax wants with its second verse” is a roundabout way of saying “the contents of the second line on the first page” (trans. Rudd). T.’s language takes into account the way wills were written in Rome, and Roman technologies of writing: the use of “wax” for “page” is a case of metonymic substitution, with the epithet transferred from the tablet’s wooden page to the material that was spread over the page to form the writing surface; cf. Cic. *Ver.* 2.92 *in codicis extrema cera nomen ... fecit* “he wrote a name on the last page of the book.” The “second verse” referred to by T. is the second line on the page. The testator’s name appeared on the first line, and the name of his heir on the second. Further on wax writing tablets, cf. above 1.39 and 3.2 (see nn.), and see Courtney *ad* *Juv.* 4.18–19. For a full description of the physical layout of Roman wills written on wax-coated wooden *tabellae*, see Roby 2000: 179–81.

54 *solus* sc. *sis*.

55–69 In order to warn Od. of the hazards that await him as he steels himself to ply the *captator*’s trade, T. looks into the distant (Roman) future, where he spies trouble brewing in the form of a crafty *captator* who will meet a tragic end, outwitted by the very man whom he attempts to bilk. Because the cautionary tale takes the form of a vatic prophecy, it is deliberately distant and hard to make out, offering little in the way of specific details. With some effort (esp. by paying attention to names, literary allusions and comic patterning) the story can be pieced together, roughly as follows: a legacy-hunter, Nasica, owes a large amount of money to Coranus, a childless rich man who is presumably quite old and devoted to his money. To get out of paying his debt to Coranus, and with an eye toward being named as heir to the man’s vast fortune, Nasica arranges to have Coranus marry his daughter. She is not named, but her designation as “tall” (in fact “towering,” see 64 n.) suggests that she is to be imagined as a Nausikāa-like beauty (a Nasica/Nausikāa pun seems to be in play) whose youth and good looks are being used as bait. After the rich old man marries his young bride, who is taller than he by a head (a visual image ripe for comic exploitation, perhaps a sight gag of Roman mime), he, the elderly son-in-law, invites his younger father-in-law to view his will,

something that one would normally do to prove that the debt has been forgiven and/or that the father-in-law has been named as heir in his will. But in this case, Coranus shows Nasica his will in order to taunt him, and to prove that he was on to the man's greedy scheme all along. The specific wording of lines 68–9 (see n.) allows one to imagine that Nasica's being told to "go to hell" by Coranus was a surprise provision that Nasica found written into the will itself.

55–6 *plerumque* "more often than not," "usually" (*OLD* s.v. 2); cf. 1.10.14–15. SB's emendation *quandoque* "at some future time" is attractive, but lacks manuscript support. **recoctus** | **scriba ex quinqueuiro** "a scribe rehashed from a staff assistant." *OLD recoquo* 1b suggests that the colorfully contemptuous metaphor *recoctus* alludes to Medea's "re-cooking," i.e. fraudulent "rejuvenation," of Pelias. The terms *scriba* and *quinqueuir* designate public officials who were assigned to senior magistrates as support staff, both in military and civic contexts, to help them carry out their daily duties, and to keep track of their transactions, decisions, expenditures, etc. Whereas the *scribae* ("clerks") were salaried officials appointed by magistrates (see *OCD apparitores*), the *quinqueuiri* were deputy magistrates. Although the term *quinqueuir* suggests that the official so named belongs to a group of five (lit. a "five man"), the designation was commonly used in a looser sense to designate a staff member in a larger group, not necessarily limited to five.

Because there were many types of scribe and *quinqueuir* in late Republican and triumviral Rome, it is impossible to determine exactly what brand of civil servant T. has in mind for each type here. Cic. *Luc.* 136 makes clear that the office of *quinqueuir* was at the lower end of a long pecking order and at *Ver.* 2.183 he summarizes the duties of the scribal order (*ordo*) as follows: "it is into the trust of these men that are committed the public records, and the judicial rulings of the magistrates." H. was himself a member of the order of scribes (a *scriba quaestorius*); see Armstrong 1986, and cf. the poet's harried pursuit of scribal activities in the next poem (esp. 6.34–9, see nn.). It is apparently as a *scriba* (a man familiar with official documents) that Coranus found a way to take advantage of Nasica, by turning his will into a device for gaining trust, then delivering a nasty surprise; cf. [Acro] *ad* 57 *Coranus ... auaritiam soceri ficto testamento delusit*. Further on Rome's corps of civil servants, see Purcell 1983. **hiantem** "gaping" refers to the crow's proverbial greed and "ravenous" appetite (*OLD* s.v. 3a), while bringing to mind the Aesopian fable of the flattering fox who tricks the crow into dropping the cheese that he carries in his beak by telling him that he has a wonderful voice and urging him to sing; see Babr. 77 and Phaedr. 1.13, with [Acro] and Porph. *ad loc.*

57 risus “laughs,” i.e. “a reason to laugh.” In the Aesopian fable (prev. n.), it is the crow who opens his mouth to sing (awfully – he is a crow, though he has been told he sings beautifully), thus dropping, and losing, the cheese. In T.’s adaptation, it is the man with the crow-like name (*Coranus* “a man from Cora,” a town in Latium) who opens his mouth to laugh, having gotten the better of the man who was trying to dupe him.

58 num furis “are you out of your mind”? Od. cannot possibly understand T.’s mysterious talk of a “man from Cora,” or “rehashed” scribes, and so on, so he wonders aloud if T. has been overtaken by a divine frenzy. **prudens** “aware of what you are doing,” i.e. “in your senses.” **obscura** “enigmas” or “oracular riddles”; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.100, describing the Sibyl as *obscuris uera inuoluens*. Od.’s question to T. looks forward to later philosophical debates concerning the divine workings and worth of oracles. The alternatives he poses (either T. is in a frenzied state and raging nonsensically, or he is fully in control and making riddles in verse in order to mock him) presage the two main stances, radically opposed, that were routinely adopted in those debates. Od.’s oddly prescient alternatives are perhaps also a reflection on what were commonly presumed to be the two distinct stages of the oracle’s response at Delphi: mounted on her tripod, the Pythia would first enter into a frenzied state and speak in a divine, unintelligible tongue. The priest would then render that utterance into an enigmatic prophecy in Greek, versified in dactylic hexameters. The exact procedures that were followed at Delphi are much disputed (see Stoneman 2011: 26–39), but the idea of a two-stage process (from divinely crazed to cryptic and in control, as described above), whether historically accurate or not, enjoyed considerable support among ancient writers, likely because of its theological pliability. For the sources, see Compton 1994: 217–18.

59 Laertiade “son of Laertes.” The solemn epic patronymic was used by Tiresias at Hom. *Od.* 11.92.

59–60 T. answers the question about whether he is nonsensically raving or purposefully riddling with yet another cryptic assertion that borders on riddling nonsense. As if to bolster his credentials as a prophet, by assuring Od. that whatever he says will happen will happen, and whatever he says will not happen will not happen (cf. Apollo to Daphne at Ov. *Met.* 1.517–18), what T. ends up saying in his overly cryptic way is “whatever I say will either happen, or it won’t.” Put the way it is, the assertion must always be true because there is no way for it to be false.

60 diuinare: the infinitive is the direct object of *donat*. For the rare construction, see Skutsch *ad Ennius Ann.* 15–16; cf. H.’s prayer to Apollo at *Carm.* 1.31.17–18. **magnus mihi donat Apollo** is epic language; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.654–5 *hanc tibi magnus Apollo | concedit laudem* (spoken by Apollo

himself), and Hom. *Il.* 1.72, where the arrival of the Argive ships in Troy is credited to the prophetic powers “that Phoebus Apollo had granted to him (Calchas).” The only other occurrence of “great Apollo” before this passage is found in Virgil’s third eclogue, where Menalcas, one of the competing shepherd poets, having claimed that he is divinely favored by Apollo (62), is called out by Damoetas, his competitor, to solve a riddle. If he solves it, Damoetas says, *et eris mihi magnus Apollo* (“I will have you as my great Apollo as well,” 104). Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.52 cites the lines from *Ecl.* 3 as a case of an overly obscure allegory (“enigma”), of which he does not approve. The use of such highly resonant language here suggests that a connection is being made between Damoetas’ famously irresolvable riddle and T.’s penchant for nonsensical riddling (see prev. n.). On the epithet *magnus* applied to the gods or their descendants, see Navarro Antolín 1996: 280–2.

61 uelit sibi “want for itself,” i.e. “be after” or “mean” (*OLD uolo* 17). **ede** suggests an oracular pronouncement; cf. 4.10 (see n.), and see Jocelyn *ad Enn. Trag.* 58–9 *ibi ex oraculo uoce diuina edidit | Apollo*.

62 iuuenis “a young man.” By the time this satire is published, Octavian is 33 years old and has nearly defeated the last of his enemies. But T. is peering ahead from a distant, mythical time (cf. Anchises in *Aeneid* 6), from which standpoint he spies the arrival of some young man of Trojan descent, who will rule over a vast stretch of the world. In late 44 BCE, soon after turning 19 (on Sept. 23), Octavian undertook to raise an army to defeat the senatorial conspirators who had killed his “father” (actually his great uncle on his mother’s side), Julius Caesar. Shortly thereafter, in early 43 BCE, Antony taunted Caesar’s young heir as a mere “boy” who owed everything to the famous name he had laid claim to upon being adopted in Caesar’s will; see Cic. *Phil.* 13.24, with Lintott 2008: 398–401 and 445–7. The first appearance of Octavian in Roman poetry is as the mysterious *iuuenis* of Virgil’s first *Eclogue*. There, as here, the term is put into the mouth of an elderly character (Tityrus is a *senex*), and puts a positive spin on the problem of Octavian’s youth. On *illum uidi iuuenem* of Virg. *Ecl.* 1.42 referring to Octavian, see Cucchiarelli *ad loc.*, and cf. Virg. *G.* 1.500 and Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.41, where there is no doubt that Octavian is the *iuuenis* in question. Servius *ad Ecl.* 1.42 suggests that the Roman senate passed a law that forbade anyone from calling Octavian a “boy.” **Parthis** “the Parthians” were the Persian-speaking peoples of ancient Iran who ruled over a vast empire that, at its greatest, stretched from the Indus river to the Euphrates. It was the Parthians who, defending their own territory, wiped out an invading army of Romans, led by the triumvir M. Licinius Crassus, at Carrhae (in modern Turkey) in 53 BCE. The Parthians were subsequently sensationalized into an existential threat to

Rome, first by Julius Caesar, then by Antony and Octavian. As N-H points out *ad Carm.* 1.12.53, “autocratic governments commonly seek popular support by exaggerating the dangers of foreign enemies.” It was finally Augustus who, in 20 BCE, claimed “victory” over the Parthians via a diplomatic settlement, and recovered the military standards that had been lost at Carrhae. **horrendus:** Octavian’s emergence as Rome’s sole leader will cause distant enemies to “shudder” in fear. Norden 1903 brings this passage to bear in explaining Virg. *Aen.* 6.798–9 *Caspia regna | responsis horrent diuum et Maeotia tellus*. He notes *ad loc.* that Octavian was in fact touring the far east of the empire when this satire was written, and he suggests that both H. and Virgil are availing themselves of the language of contemporary prophecies that circulated in the aftermath of Actium, e.g. *Sibylline Oracles* 5.16, where Octavian is described as “the one who will cause Thrace and Sicily and Memphis to cower in fear.” For the full argument, see Norden 1966: 422–38.

62–3 ab alto | demissum genus: the phrase is steeped in the prophetic sounds of Virg. *Ecl.* 4.7 *noua progenies caelo demittitur alto*, a passage that itself reflects on, and re-mythologizes the rationalizing message of Lucr. 2.1153–4: “in my view, there was no golden rope that let down the races of mortals from on high (*caelo dimisit*).” For connections between the passages, see Cucchiarelli *ad Ecl.* 4.7 and Hardie 2009: 34; cf. G. 3.35–6 and *Aen.* 1.288, where in each case the verb *demittere* implies both genealogical “descent” as well as a literal “descending” or “sending down” of the divine from heaven. For Roman descent conceived spatially in terms of “high” and “low,” see Bettini 1991: 167–83, with specific discussion of the participle *demissum* on p. 169. Further on the phraseology as “suitably heroic,” see Gowers *ad* 1.6.12.

63 Aenea: for the declension of the hero’s name, see 1 n. above. Members of the *gens Iulia* claimed to be descended from Venus through her son, Aeneas. For the history of such claims to Trojan ancestry in Rome, with special attention to the *gens Iulia*, see Erskine 2001: 17–43. **tellure marique:** the expression “over land and sea” took many forms in Greek and Latin, and was especially common in triumphal and panegyric contexts where it was used to describe the vast stretches of the world (if not the entire world) over which a particular power or conqueror held sway. Here the phrase points strongly to Octavian’s post-Actian claims to have brought peace to the world by having defeated his enemies: not only were the words *terra marique parata pax* used as part of the ceremonial language that accompanied the closing of the temple of Janus, they were inscribed (in a slightly altered form) on the victory monument that Octavian erected at Nicopolis to celebrate his victory at Actium. Cooley 2009: 117 points out that the phrase “over land and sea” first emerges

with Pompey at Rome, following precedents set by Hellenistic monarchs, and that the phrase was subsequently laid claim to by Octavian after his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus in 36 BCE. For details concerning the political development of the phrase in Rome, with a full accounting of the ancient sources, see Hardie 1986: 302–10.

64 *magnus*: as a term designating political and military might, the title previously belonged to Pompey the Great (who had it from Alexander), as did the “over land and sea” claim of the prev. line (see n.). Further on the history of the title *magnus* applied to Augustus, see N–H *ad Carm.* 1.12.50–1, and cf. above line 60 on *magnus Apollo* as an epic term (see n.) **forti** “brave” and *procera* “towering,” i.e. “tall,” are both high-sounding epithets that contribute to an epic tone. To have three such epithets squeezed into a single line is an over-indulgent flourish that mocks the mannerisms of epic by overdoing them. Muecke *ad loc.* points out that Homer twice refers to the young heroine, Nausikāa, as taller by a head than her companions (there is perhaps a play here on the names Nasica and Nausikāa) when she is first spied by Odysseus, and Virgil compares Dido to Diana towering above her attendants (*Aen.* 1.501) when she is first caught sight of by Aeneas; cf. *Ov. Met.* 3.181–2 *altior illis* (sc. *nymphis*) | *ipsa dea est*, again referring to Diana, and 13.789–90, where, in singing of his love for the nymph Galatea, Polyphemus (for whom taller is better) compares her to a tree: *Galatea ... longa procerior alno*.

But the question remains whether the adjective *procera* is the right term to use to designate an attractive female heroine. Elsewhere the word is most commonly used of trees, as at *Cic. Leg.* 1.2.8, where the reference is to Odysseus’ encounter with Nausikāa, whom he compares to a lofty palm tree. When used of persons, the adjective *procerus* most often refers to persons who are not just tall, but exceptionally and scarily tall, esp. Germans, Gauls and giants. It may be that Nasica’s daughter was more of a strapping Laestrygonian giantess than she was a slender Phaeacian beauty. The image brought to mind, of the young woman towering over her elderly bridegroom, is suitably ridiculous. Or, as Fedeli *ad loc.* suggests, the exact opposite may have been the case: she may have been a tiny person whose diminutive stature is being mocked by the epithet.

65 *soldum* “the full amount” (*OLD solidus* 9b) refers to the debt that Nasica owes to his creditor, who is presumably Coranus.

67–8 In order to make it seem that he has no interest in Coranus’ money and/or that he refuses to entertain the sad thought of his “son-in-law’s” demise, Nasica repeatedly refuses Coranus’ insistent pleas “begging” him (*orabit*) to view the contents of his will and read it out loud. But Coranus *tandem* “finally” wears him down. As a sign of his overconfidence,

parading as show of false modesty, Nasica reads the document silently to himself rather than aloud, i.e. as if to indicate that he is modestly embarrassed by what he is sure to find there (i.e. himself named as heir), and that he intends to keep the contents a secret shared just between Coranus and himself.

68–9 inuenietque | nil ... praeter plorare: the phrase bears a strong resemblance to Soph. *Phil.* 282–3 “looking all around, I discover nothing but grief.” Though built from all the same parts, the phrase sounds very different in Latin because *plorare* “to grieve,” unlike Sophocles’ ἀνιᾶσθαι “to grieve” (also an object infinitive), is at the same time a colloquial idiom meaning “to go hang oneself” or “go to hell.” For the idiom, see Gowers *ad* 1.10.90–1.

69 sibi ... suisque is a formula found on countless Roman grave inscriptions, where it is used to designate the grave as a burial space for the deceased “himself/herself and his/her own [sc. family members and freedmen].” For variations on the phrase *sibi et suis*, see the index of *CIL* vol. VI (Rome), which has more than fifty pages of relevant entries.

70 illud “the following.” **ad haec** “besides” or “in addition to these things”; cf. Γκ ἐπὶ τούτοις. The verb *iubeo* marks a shift from cryptic speech into the preceptive mode of didactic.

71 delirum “deranged” is in origin a metaphor from farming, where it refers to a plow animal that wanders off-track. The word’s etymological potential is brought into play by *temperet*, which suggests that the crafty woman and freed slave are “guiding” or “steering” the senile man (*OLD* s.v. 8), as one would a draft animal pulling a cart, or a plow.

72 laudes, lauderis: sc. *illos* and *ab illis* respectively. For this type of verb shift, pairing active and passive forms of the same verb in the same line, a device “ideal for expressing reciprocity,” see Wills 295–8, and cf. *Ars* 426. It is understood that the scoundrels who are manipulating the old man will benefit from the commendation that they receive from their new partner, Od., and that they will respond in kind by recommending the newcomer to the old man as someone worth getting to know; cf. the strategy of the anonymous “pest” of *S.* 1.9, who flatters H., and offers to join him as a “helper” in a secondary role (45–6), in what he hopes will become a joint effort of mutual self-enrichment at Maecenas’ expense.

73–4 uincit is here used in an absolute sense, and has the infinitive phrase *expugnare caput* as its subject: “the better path to victory by far is to storm the citadel itself.” For the military metaphor, figuring the rich man as stronghold to be stormed, cf. H. to the “pest” at 1.9.54–5, where the stronghold in question is Maecenas. On multiple connections between the presumptions and practices of the “pest” of *S.* 1.9 and the *ars captandi*

as taught by T. in this poem, see Knorr 2004: 204-5. **uecors** “frenzied” is a negative construal of poetic madness, i.e. a raging impulse that the man cannot control.

75 laudato “be sure to praise.” The topic of false praise for a rich man’s bad poetry is taken up in a wide variety of generic forms, ranging from Greek Old Comedy to Roman Imperial historiography and Middle Platonist sermonizing. The theme is dramatized by Petronius in multiple interactions between Trimalchio and his put-upon dinner guests, and fully developed as a contemporary Roman problem (having to do with Nero) in Persius’ first satire, a poem that owes much to H.’s *Ars Poetica*; see Hooley 1997: 26-63, and Brink on the problem of “the false critic” at *Ars* 419-37. The theme occurs several times in Juvenal, e.g. among the complaints of Umbricius at Juv. 3.41-2 (see Braund *ad loc.*), as well as in the first lines of satire one, a poem that owes much to Martial, e.g. *Ep.* 12.40.1 *recitas mala carmina, laudo*. **scortator** “lecher” is street slang for someone who chases after *scorta* “prostitutes.” The only other use of the term is Plaut. *Am.* 287, where it is spoken by a slave. **caue te roget** “take care he doesn’t ask you,” i.e. “don’t wait for him to ask.” For *caue* without *ne* in negative commands, see NLS §130, and cf. Cic. *Att.* 3.17.3 *caue uereare* “take care you’re not afraid.”

76 Penelopam: Penelope is Od.’s long-suffering wife. As the next two lines make clear, her role in the *Odyssey* is that of a paradigm of wifely virtue who, for twenty years, refuses to let any man into her bed as she awaits her husband’s return. She is considerably less chaste in comic sources; cf. *Priap.* 68.28-30 *mens (sc. Vlixis) erat in cunno, Penelopea, tuo: | quae sic casta manes, ut iam conuiuia uisas | utque fututorum sit tua plena domus*, and Mart. 11.104.15-16. **facilis** “compliant,” as at *Carm.* 1.25.5; cf. N-R *ad Carm.* 3.10.11, where *difficilis* implies a refusal to comply.

77 perduci “be lured over,” i.e. into having sex with the rich lecher. The verb is used not of prostitutes, but of freeborn women who are either lured into having sex for pay, or pressured into having sex against their will; cf. Suet. *Cal.* 25.2, and Asc. *ad Cic. Ver.* 2.33, where the distinction between pimps and *perductores* is marked in terms of the legal status of the persons who are procured for sexual purposes.

79-80 parca “frugal in” takes a genitive to complete its sense, as at 2.62 above (see n.). The epithet is ironically assigned to *iuuentus* “the young men,” i.e. Penelope’s suitors, who were complete wastrels, and totally devoid of frugality, except when it came to giving big gifts in order to win Penelope’s hand. T. explains that they were more interested in keeping the party going than in winning a bride (an idea that he crassly reduces to a preference for “food” over “sex”). The issue of the suitors’ stinginess arises at Hom. *Od.* 18.279-80, where Penelope scolds them for eating

her out of house and home while failing to court her properly, with gifts. Taking the bait, they respond by heaping her with an elaborate array of “exceedingly lovely gifts” (303).

81–2 uno | de sene forms a contrast with the collective *iuventus* two lines above: old, rich and singular versus young, stingy and plural.

82 partita is deponent (from *partior, -iri*) and takes *lucellum* as its object (shared *apo koinou* with *gustarit*): “once she’s had the teeniest taste of profit from just one old man, sharing it with you as her partner.” The diminutive form, which Porph. *ad loc.* ascribes to the rhetorical category of cajoling sweet-talk (ὑποκοριστικῶς *lucrum*), brings to mind the type of language that Penelope will use to fleece the lustful old man of his money.

83 corio ... uncto “a greasy/rich hide.” The line evokes a Greek proverb that warns against letting a dog get a taste for “guts” (with Latin *corius* replacing Gk χόριον). Further on the proverb, see Otto 71 and Hunter 1999 *ad Theoc. Id.* 10.11. Williams 1959: 98 argues that *corius* here refers not to a strip of leather, but to “the mess of skin and ‘innards’ of a carcass.” Roberts 1984: 430 points out that the word *uncto* “is particularly well chosen because it may also be used metaphorically of wealth.” The particulars of the image conspire to reduce the old man to a rich carcass, feasted on by scavenging dogs.

84 me sene “back when I was an old man.” Only a ghost could hope to use this phrase and have it make sense. The reference to T.’s own lived experience lends credence to the story he is about to tell. **quod dicam** “what I’m about to tell you.” **Thebis** “at Thebes,” T.’s hometown.

85 ex testamento “according to the provisions of the will.” The phrase occurs on hundreds of Latin tomb inscriptions, where it is often abbreviated *EX T.*

87 scilicet elabi si posset mortua “no doubt (to see) if she could slip from his grasp when dead.” *NLS* §182.6 points out that the use of interrogative *si* in the sense of “whether” is a feature of colloquial Latin, but has some precedent in literary prose; cf. *Ep.* 2.1.164. For *scilicet* introducing speculative reasons and explanations, see *OLD* s.v. 3a. By stipulating that her overzealous heir be forced to carry her greased corpse, the “rascally old woman” (*improba anus*) forces the *captator* to put on vivid display his dogged attempts to “secure the legacy” (*OLD capto* 9b) of a “rich” old woman (*OLD unctus* 2, and 83 above (see n.)) who vainly attempted to “elude” (*OLD elabor* 2) him while alive. All three metaphorical terms (*captare, uncta, elabi*) are returned to their most basic, non-metaphorical senses, and literalized via the pantomime of the man struggling to carry the greased body: by doing as the will stipulates, he shows himself “trying to take hold of” (*OLD capto* 1) a “greasy” (*OLD unctus* 1a) woman who, as

he tries vainly to hold on to her corpse, seems intent on “slipping from” his grasp (*OLD elabor* 1).

88 nimium institerat “had hounded her.” The verbs *insto* and *insisto* share the same forms in the perfect and pluperfect, and both are commonly used in the sense that pertains here, i.e. “to push hard” or “bear down on” someone. **cautus adito** “you must make your approach, taking care,” i.e. “cautiously.”

89 neu ... neue: the *ne* clauses follow after *cautus* in the prev. line. **desis:** with a dative object, has the sense of “to fail in” or “come up short in.” **abundes** “overflow” or “gush with” sc. *opera*. T.’s advice is colored by Aristotelian theories of virtue as a moderate mean between opposite extremes. On the Peripatetic “golden mean,” see Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 2.1106a–b, and cf. 1.106 *est modus in rebus* with Gowers *ad loc.*

90 difficilem et morosum “ill-tempered and dour.” The elderly misanthrope who hates human interaction is a comic type, best exemplified by Knemon, “the Grump” of Menander’s *Dyskolos*.

91 “non,” “etiam” “no,” “yes”; cf. Cic. *Luc.* 104. **Dauus sis comicus** “be a Davus of the comic stage.” Davus is the name assigned to slave characters in ten different plays of Menander, including the *Dyskolos*; see Freudenburg 2013: 318 and 7.2 below. Despite being rich in slaves, the plays of Plautus have no slave named Davus (though the tradition of naming slaves Davus is acknowledged at Plaut. *Am.* 365 *Dauo prognatum patre*). Terence imitates Menander in using the name in the *Andria* and the *Phormio*.

92 capite obstipo “with your head lowered to one side,” i.e. adopting a deferential posture. This is, in essence, a stage direction given to a man who is being called on to act a comic role. **multum** is adverbial with *similis*; see 3.147 n.

93 obsequio grassare “stalk him with attentiveness,” i.e. by slavishly attending to his every need; see *OLD obsequium* 2. The verb *grassor* is the frequentative form of *gradior* “advance,” and is used of nefarious characters who “prowl” and rob. **si increbruit aura** “if the wind has picked up.”

93–8 The rapid-fire imperatives of these lines (*mone, extrahe, substringe, urge*) give substance to the idea of *obsequium* (see prev. n.), and slavishly following orders, by offering specific examples of what Od. will be called upon to do in order to ingratiate himself with the old man. In certain particulars, T.’s advice hews closely to Theophrastus’ characterization of the flatterer (see next nn.).

94 cautus uti uelet carum caput: the phrase is highly alliterative: “(warn him) to take care to cover his costly/dear head”; cf. Theophr. *Char.* 2.10: “and he [the Flatterer] worries that the man is shivering, and he asks if he would like him to put a blanket on him.” On the double sense of *carum caput*, see Rudd 1966: 234.

94–5 *extrahe turba* | *oppositis umeris* “extract him from a crowd by shoving against them [sc. people in the crowd] with your shoulders.” On clearing a crowded path as a service performed by flatterers, cf. Theophr. *Char.* 2.5, Ov. *Ars* 2.210, and see Gowers *ad* 1.9.47–8.

95 *aurem substringe* “draw up your ear toward,” i.e. “listen closely to,” refers to the physical activity (likely a sight gag of comedy) of cupping the hand behind the ear and leaning in to listen. For the flatterer as an overly enthusiastic listener, cf. Theophr. *Char.* 2.4 “he orders everyone to keep quiet while the man is speaking, and as he listens to him he lavishes the man with praise,” Eupolis *Kolakes* (“The Flatterers”) fr. 172 K-A v. 9 “and if the rich fat cat (ὁ πλούταξ) says anything at all I praise it straight off.” **loquaci** “the chatterbox” is yet another Theophrastean type; see Theophr. *Char.* 3. For talkativeness as a sign of age, cf. Cic. *Sen.* 55.

96 *importunus* “never letting up” is an adverbial nominative. *ohe, iam!* “whoa now!” is highly colloquial. The same exclamation occurs at 1.5.12–13, where it is put into the mouth of a mule-barge captain as his boat is being overloaded; cf. Mart. 4.89.9, the last line of the *libellus*, ordering book 4 of the *Epigrams* to come to a halt: *ohe, iam satis est, ohe libelle*. For Pers. 1.23 *dicas cute perditus* “*ohe*” as an imitation of T.’s advice to H., reversing the poles of flatterer and flattered, see Reckford 2009: 22–3.

97 *ad caelum manibus sublatis* translates the Homeric formula of *Il.* 15.371 (Nestor), and *Od.* 9.527 (Polyphemus): “he prays, lifting his hands toward the starry heavens.” Further on the epic formula, see Horsfall 2008 *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 2.687–8 and Schmeling *ad* Petr. 40.1.

98 The conceited man is compared to a leather sack that the *captator* inflates with praise, so that he swells with pride (perhaps referring to the “bag of winds” given to Odysseus by Aeolus in *Od.* 10). The “golden line” (A B verb b a) is arranged in such a way that the word order mimics sense, as the words for “bulging sack” (*crescentem ... utrem*) physically enclose the words for “swollen/overblown talk” (*tumidis ... sermonibus*) that intervene, as if containing billowing winds on the inside. For rapid-fire and bombastic talkers as “windbags,” see Gowers *ad* 1.4.19–20 and Kissel *ad* Pers. 5.10–11.

99 *leuarit* is fut. pf., and highly euphemistic: “once he has ‘relieved’ you,” i.e. via his death. T.’s language of “prolonged servitude and worry” adds a comical note of pathos, making it sound as if the *captator* has been the most faithful and selfless of the man’s devoted slaves.

100 *certum uigilans* “definitely awake,” i.e. not dreaming. *quartae ... partis* is an objective genitive with *heres* in the next line “let Ulysses be heir to one fourth,” sc. of the estate. Legacies were commonly divided into twelfths, with one fourth constituting the minimum allocation assigned to the principal heir; cf. the apportionment of Virgil’s estate, as recorded by

Suet. *uit. Verg.* 37 (Donatus p. 63Re), listing the heirs in order, according to the size of their shares, from largest to smallest.

101 ergo “and so.” As an expression of rueful realization, cf. *Carm.* 1.24.5–6 *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor | urget*, with N–H *ad loc.*

102 nusquam est? “is he nowhere?” = English “is he no more?” **unde mihi tam fortem** “where will I, a friend so brave ...?” The ellipsis of the verb produces an impression of deep pathos, as if, in a state of disbelief, the speaker is falling short of words, and choking up. A suitable verb (e.g. *petam, inueniam*) may be supplied but, as K–H points out *ad loc.*, the point of the ellipsis is to throw special emphasis on the direct object as the sole point of focus by racing ahead to name the man’s attributes while leaving the expression of the thought incomplete. For further instances of verbal ellipsis in exclamatory sentences introduced by *unde*, see 7.116, *OLD* s.v. 1a. **tam fortem tamque fidelem:** as the language of commemoration, cf. above 3.97 (see n.) and Petr. 71.12 (the epitaph of Trimalchio), lauding the superficial old man as *pius, fortis, fidelis*.

103 sparge subinde takes the preceding series of direct statements as its object, in the sense “drop in the occasional ‘so, can it be that my pal Dama is now no more?!’” **est** “it is possible” looks ahead to *celare* in the next line: “if you shed a tear or two, you’ll be able to hide.” For this use of *esse*, see *OLD* *sum* g; cf. 1.2.79.

105–9 Immediately before his abrupt departure in line 110, T. urges Od. to think ahead to his next legacy-landing scheme, and he suggests that he use the occasion of Dama’s funeral to scout out, and begin his pursuit of, his next victim: like links in a chain, one funeral looks ahead to the next. But along with the financial windfall that has come to Od. by way of Dama’s imaginary demise, new devices of *captatio* have come into play as well, and the gifts of seduction are now much bigger, and different in kind. In advising Od. that he not stint on the expenditures for Dama’s tomb, and that he offer a city house, or even a farm, as a gift to the oldest and sickest of his co-heirs, T. makes clear that, once he has secured Dama’s impressive legacy (see next n.), Od. will be expected to step out of his old role as a scrabbling outsider and up to a new, and decidedly more respectable one: that of a well-heeled Roman patron who spends lavishly, and strategically, on others. In what amounts to one of the most satirically searing exposures of the book (see poem intro. above), T. makes clear that, as far as he is concerned, the roles of *captator* and generous patron are two sides of the same coin. The gift of a farm from a patron is the theme that opens the next poem.

105 permissum arbitrio (sc. *tuo*) “left to your discretion.” The testator either included specific instructions for the construction of his tomb in

his will, or he left it to some third party (usually one of his heirs) to take care of as he saw fit; cf. above 3.86 (see n.), *CLE* 460.4, *Ov. Fast.* 5.657. On arranging for burial as “tantamount to acceptance of the inheritance of the deceased,” see Saller 1994: 98.

108 ex parte tua “from your share” sc. of Dama’s estate. Od.’s quarter share of Dama’s estate is to be imagined as large enough to include an extra house and/or country estate that can happily be given away as an investment in a future legacy (see prev. n.)

109 gaudentem nummo te addicere “(tell him that) you’re delighted to let him have it for a song.” **nummo**: abl. of price. For the singular of *nummus* implying a nominal sum (as if to say “a penny”), see *OLD* s.v. 3b and c. For *addicere* in the sense of “make over to (by sale),” see *OLD* s.v. 2.

110 imperiosa trahit Proserpina: Persephone is “demanding/bossy” not only because, as queen of Hades’ realm, she represents the implacability of death, but because she is mistress of the house that T. lives in, and she runs a very tight ship; cf. *Cic. Parad.*, *Ov. Her.* 20.80–1. **uiue ualeque**: the common expression of leave-taking and signing off acquires a certain immediacy by being put in the mouth of a ghost, who is himself neither alive nor faring well.

SATIRE 6

The sixth poem of the second book is the best known of the entire collection. Its influence in antiquity was considerable, especially obvious in Persius (see nn. at 8, 24, 96) and Martial (see 1 n., and Merli 2006). The poem was key to Ariosto’s conceptualization of his satires (see Marsh 1975), and some of the most renowned satirists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wrote satires imitating and updating its central concerns: Abraham Cowley (1663), Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1677), Jonathan Swift (1714), Alexander Pope (1738). In the first edition of his ground-breaking commentary (1884–9), Adolf Kiessling dubbed the poem the crown of Horace’s satiric poetry (“die Krone der horazischen Satirendichtung”), and Fraenkel 1957: 142 described it as the “most accomplished of all Horatian satires.” The poem is by far the most studied in the book, and a great deal has been written on it in recent years because, along with *S.* 1.6 and *Ep.* 1.7, it provides crucial insights into the workings of literary patronage in ancient Rome (see esp. Lyne 1995: 17–20, Oliensis 1998: 46–53, Freudenburg 2006, Bowditch 2001).

In its form, the poem is unique (“unter den Sermonen is dies der einzige Monolog,” K–H, p. 298). Other satires in the book have the form of lectures delivered before listeners (2) or overheard conversations (1, 3, 4,

5, 7, 8). But this poem is spoken in the poet's own voice, and it addresses no one in particular. It resembles private soliloquy or self-address, such as one might find in lyric. And yet, as Seel 1972: 22 acutely points out, it is self-address of a very complicated "conversational" kind ("durchaus *sermo* ... kein blosses Selbstgespräch"). It contains large amounts of reported conversation, and it opens with the poet addressing himself to some "one" in particular: a prayer to Mercury, thanking him for the gift of a farm that H. has just acquired in the Sabine hills. He then goes on in line 20 to address Janus with a mock hymn of praise, wherein he describes the daily grind of his urban routine (20–39). Mercury is invoked as *Maia nate* ("son of Maia") and Janus as *Matutine* ("Day-break"). In each case, the odd designation that names the god echoes the name of the god-like human who is actually responsible for the "blessings" in question: Maecenas, the generous patron who gave the poet the farm that he so lovingly describes in the poem's opening lines, and the same god-like man whose friendly expectations drag the poet from bed each morning to occupy the whole of his daily routine. There is, in other words, a specific addressee figured into this *sermo*, to make it "no mere self-address" (quoting Seel, above), but he is addressed in a curiously roundabout way. By playing at his name, H. finds a way to bring Maecenas "into the fold" as an addressee without addressing him directly. This odd narratological contrivance (*sermo* that hints at the self-reflective "I" of lyric while effectuating indirect personal address) has no counterpart elsewhere in the *Sermones*. It is perhaps best considered a case of satiric content parading as form (as if folded into the form), since among the poem's principal themes are H.'s failure to communicate meaningfully with Maecenas as friend to friend, and his being split between the separate generic worlds of *sermo* and *carmen*. On the generic troping of "city" and "country" in this satire, and the poet's dreaming forward to the *Odes* from the terrain of satire, mixing the habits of both genres, see Freudenburg 2006.

This poem has a clear counterpart in *S.* 1.6, where H. describes his first nervous encounter with Maecenas that took place nearly seven years before. As pointed out by Oliensis 1998: 46: "the poem invites us to measure how far Horace has traveled since the momentous meeting with Maecenas described in the earlier satire" (see also Rudd 1966: 252). That the distance covered has been considerable is apparent from each satire's first lines: whereas in 1.6 Maecenas is addressed as a descendant of Etruscan kings, in 2.6 he is addressed (in a sidelong way) as a god. As the proud owner of a lovely new farm, H. has clearly risen far in the last seven years; cf. the white table, two cups and wine-ladle that were the sum of his humble holdings at 1.6.116–18. But, for his part, Maecenas has risen much farther still, to stratospheric heights that put him beyond the reach

of the same old *sermo*. The distance separating the two men as “friends” has never been wider, and the odd manner in which Maecenas is implied as a quasi-divine addressee by the opening lines (see above) captures that distance, and perhaps (again, taking form *as* content) needles the man for his outsized ambitions, his legendary *superbia* and the god-like power that he now wields; power that keeps his “friend,” H., miserably scurrying about on his behalf as a form of *cultus amicorum*. For “men as gods” as a running theme in the poem, see 5, 14–15, 20, 52, 65, 67 nn.

What H. prayed for was a humble little nook in the countryside, with a garden, some running water and a stand of trees up above. Taken in by the picture, K–H notes (p. 297): “it was no villa, such as the luxury of the age cherished, and the poet’s enthusiasm for his new property would have been little understood by friends in his circle.” But H. adds a disclaimer in lines 3–4, saying that what he received from *Maia nate* was considerably better than what he prayed for. Excavations conducted at what many now regard as the villa site in Licenza from 1997 to 2003 have shown this to be an understatement of considerable size.¹⁵ The villa that H. describes is a literary portrayal, loaded with symbolic significance.¹⁶ The villa that he occupied was (i.e. assuming that the Roman villa in the Vigne di San Pietro has been rightly identified as the site of his Sabine villa) both impressively large and quite luxurious. The gardens were vast, well-designed and not for growing cabbages. While the actual villa was no match for Maecenas’ sprawling “Gardens” in Rome, it was nothing like the humble working farm that H. describes in the poem’s first lines. But that lovely farm *imago*, like a rustic idyll floating inside a snow-globe, is less a physical description of the villa that H. occupied than it is a “dreamscape” that invites readers to dream along. Shrunk down to size in the first three lines, and reduced to a few basic needs, the villa is an expression of Roman desires properly moderated, recalling Cato in his vegetable patch, and the basic hope of many a Roman soldier returning home from war (see 1–3 n., and Rudd 1966: 243). The vegetable garden occupies the

¹⁵ See Frischer, Crawford and De Simone 2006, vol. I, *passim*, esp. Frischer p. xxv: “Whereas in the poems, Horace emphasized the modest size and decor of his property, the structure attributed to the Augustan phase by Lugli was seigniorial in scale.” For arguments both for and against identifying the site with H.’s Sabine villa, see vol. I: 18–20.

¹⁶ Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 11.44 (= 27 Sider) where Philodemus invites his wealthy patron, Piso, to a moderate Epicurean dinner at his “humble shack,” to celebrate Epicurus’ birthday. Also [Virg.] *Catalepton* 8.1–2, picturing the tiny farm of the Epicurean, Siro.

prime spot in the opening description. It gestures toward Epicurus, whose “Garden” (κῆπος/*hortus*) on the outskirts of Athens symbolized the philosopher’s detachment from the political fray, underscoring his contentment with nature’s basic provisions, and the ever-flowing spring gestures toward poetic inspiration that is refined, and scaled down by art (2 n.). This is a place for writing, for working the soil, for philosophy. It is a farm as dreamed up by an Epicurean soldier-poet who lost his ancestral home while away at war, where basic Roman values, Epicurean philosophy and Callimachean aesthetics all come together.

Perhaps the most obvious contrast separating the “then” of S. 1.6 from the “now” of 2.6 is to be observed in the way that H. describes his life in the city. In the earlier poem the poet pictured his daily routine in highly idealized terms. At the end of that poem (113–31) he describes getting up late, doing a bit of reading, then having a light lunch, strolling about, then after some exercise and a bath he enjoys a simple vegetarian dinner at home. He is the picture of Epicurean contentment, with no worries on his mind, no appointments to keep and nothing in particular to do. The contrast with the “now” of his life in the city is stark. In lines 23–58 of 2.6 he describes himself getting up at the crack of dawn, then racing off to greet Maecenas, then back to the forum for other tasks, with every hour of his day claimed by some political duty that has to be done either on Maecenas’ behalf, or on behalf of his fellow scribes. Such racing back and forth literalizes his life as one of *ambitio* (*ambo* + *ire* “going around,” see 18 n.), i.e. a visual study of the idea; cf. 47–9 construing *invidia* in terms of literal “on-looking” (see n.). On the poet’s routine in these lines as ticked off “by the hour,” see Reckford 1997.

As Gowers 2009: 305 points out, by describing H.’s life the way it does, S. 1.6 “lives out an escapist fantasy, a dream of independence and unsailable integrity.” If he is a dreamer here in 2.6, he was already a dreamer there in 1.6, seven years before. In 2.6, the satirist’s projections of both the country and the city are reductionist exaggerations that defy belief: the one is as dreamily idealized as the other is farcically drearified (inspired by this dire portrayal of city life, Martial and Juvenal will take their depictions of the city’s crushing grind even further).¹⁷ But, in a remarkable change of perspective, the city is now, for the older, heavier and sweatier H., nothing short of a living hell (for its construal as Hades, making each daily “ascent” of the Esquiline its own *katabasis*, see 33–9 n.).

¹⁷ Hutchinson 2013: 313 demonstrates the influence of Theocritus (*Idylls* 15) on the urban bustle scene of this poem.

Clearly, a great deal has happened in the intervening years. The poet is no longer who he once so happily was. Rather, he is disillusioned and bone-tired, dragging out an unhappy existence in the city that he once regarded as his own Epicurean haven. But by this point he has developed a new escapist fantasy to replace the old one: simple farmer H., eating vegetables hearthside in the company of his fellow farmers, in a place where farmers sleep in late because they have no chores to do, no set of Hesiodic works to order their days, and where all farmers are conversant in the deepest problems of Hellenistic moral philosophy and burn the night oil in meaningful conversation with their fellow farmers about the meaning of life. This is a place where “talk” (*sermo*) is as it should be, where no one gossips about the nonsense of the city (71–2), but neither do they engage in the typical talk of farmers: of chickens, or weevils in their turnips, or that one most iconic topic of all farmer talk: the weather. In H.’s “flipped” construal of city and country in this poem, it is not on the farm, but in the city that one has to get up at the crack of dawn and set about one’s chores, hour-by-hour. It is in the city that one chats meaninglessly about chickens and the weather (44–5, see nn.).

In his famous (albeit sorely understudied) literary analysis of the poem, Otto Seel asked a crucial question: where are we to presume that H. (i.e. not H. the man, but the satirist figure inside the poem) is when he writes this poem? Though it may seem frivolous, the question is worth asking, because it has important implications for both the thematic and narratological workings of the poem (here one might compare the way that H. takes time to signal his whereabouts as a writer in discussing issues of city versus country in *Epistles* book 1). In the case of this poem, the evidence is conflicted, beginning with a strong emphasis on the poet’s “presence” at the farm in the poem’s first lines (on *hoc* as a deictic marker, referring to something “right there,” see 1 n.), but by lines 60–7 the farm is described as something longed for and far off. So which is it? Do we think that H. writes this poem from the city, or is he at his beloved estate in the Sabine countryside? For his part, Richard Heinze took H. to be writing from the country, merely imagining the city’s grind from afar, but for Walter Willi he writes from the city, looking toward a dream farm that he longs to occupy. Respecting the difficulties of the poem’s perspectival swings, Rudd 1966: 245 suggests that “Horace, who is writing in the country, is thinking of himself in Rome thinking of the country,” and this affects his translation of line 16 (see n.). Noting that the descriptions of city and country in this poem are both equally unreal, though unreal in opposite ways, Seel himself suggests that H. occupies the “slope” (*Gefälle*) that rises between the city and country, an imaginary place that is neither here nor there because it is a “concentrate” of memories and lived experiences,

and not an actual “place” at all.¹⁸ One of the main reasons that he chooses to put the poet in-between is that this narratological “place,” because it is neither here nor there, leaves the poem’s concluding fable with some real work to do.

H.’s version of the Aesopian fable of the town mouse and country mouse is often read as a rather straightforward validation of the poet’s longing for a simple country life. Taken this way, the “moral” of the story is nothing more and nothing less than the point that H. has been making all along. But this is no Aesopian fable. As many have seen, there are significant ways in which it defies being matched to that message.¹⁹ Elsewhere (Freudenburg 2006: 164–73) I have argued that the fable does not chime in neatly with the satirist’s dream, but exposes him as a dreamer. The town mouse is easily identified with Maecenas, the luxury-loving friend who undertakes to upgrade his rustic friend and introduce him to a pampered style of life.²⁰ But, as we have seen, the poet himself has a penchant for radically changing his tune on the matter of city versus country: sometimes he is a city mouse, and at other times he is a country mouse. If H. is needling his stylish Epicurean friend via his portrayal of the city mouse, he is also ironizing himself.

Both mice are Epicureans, each exploring a different way of being Epicurean (see 93–7 n.; cf. the radically opposed Epicurean characterizations of Ofellus and Catus in satires 2 and 4 above). Insofar as the fable touches on the mood swings of H., one of the big questions it asks of him is: which kind of Epicurean are you, really? The kind who takes pleasure in simple things (that air you are always putting on), or the kind who likes his luxuries (such as a well-appointed “garden” villa in the Sabine countryside)? Throughout the poem H. has construed his problem as one of externals (location, sleep, food) when, in fact, it is one of dreaming; a problem of the soul. His construal of what ails him is curiously out of

¹⁸ See Seel 1972: 75–6, where he refers to the speculations of Heinze (K–H p. 298) and Wili 1965: 113.

¹⁹ Oliensis 1998: 50: “The multiple oppositions that frame and structure the tale of the two mice – between wealth and poverty, vice and virtue, danger and safety, servile dependence and manly (mously) independence, city and country – line up with a certain conventional neatness in parallel columns. But in Horace’s case, the columns are not parallel but intertwined, and the accounting cannot be so simple.”

²⁰ On town mouse/country mouse as Maecenas/Horace, cf. *Carm.* 3.29, an invitation to an over-busy and fastidious, city-loving Maecenas from a simple pauper, Horace.

keeping with what any self-respecting Epicurean should know. Near the end of his third book (Lucr. 3.1057–70), Lucretius tells the story of an unhappy rich fool who races off to the country to find contentment, but as soon as he arrives at his country villa he either drifts off to sleep (*abit in somnum grauis atque obliuia quaerit*, 1066, the line from which H. spins his rustic dream in 61–2, see n.) or he heads straight back to the city. He fails to find any relief from his woes because, Lucretius says, he is attempting to run away from something that he can neither see, nor can he ever escape: himself.

The clear relevance of the Lucretian story to the tale that Cervius, the inset fabulist, tells invites one to take a different perspective on any big insights that the country mouse seems to gain by dashing off to the city, only to regret his decision and beat a hasty retreat back to his country hole. Anyone who remembers the moral of the Lucretian tale must suspect that the country mouse's problems have not been solved by his fable's end, at which point he still seems to be confusing contentment with geography (his old country hole) and food ("vetch," 117).²¹ But that last word, concluding both the fable and the poem, in its own way suggests that perhaps the country mouse has gained some insight into the true nature of his problem by having taken a deep look inside himself. What differentiates vetch (*eruus*) from nearly all other foods in the poem, whether humble or fancy, is that it is not a "food" where humans are concerned (see 117 n.).²² People do not eat vetch. Animals do. Looking inside himself, the country mouse has discovered what should have been obvious to him all along: that he is a mouse. The "moral" he takes from his own fable has to do with knowing himself for how small he really is. Even in his old rustic hole he had been eating human food, stolen from the farmer, and putting on human airs. It was the prospect of living "where humans are" that lured him into the city (see 92 n.). By the poem's end, he seems to realize how silly he was for trying to play big, as if he could run away from being a mouse. Taken as a self-ironizing Horatian

²¹ When H. returns to this issue in *Ep.* 1.7 in the story of Volteius Mena, the city gentleman who heeds his patron's advice and becomes a farmer, he describes Volteius (a name suggestive of "turn about") working himself to death on the farm, then racing back to the city to recover his former life. As Rudd 1966: 252 points out: "here it is farming which involves the busy pursuit of profits; the city stands for modest contentment." The old new dream has been replaced by the new old one.

²² The same can be said of *lolium* ("darnel"), on which the country mouse (but not the city mouse) dines in 89 (see n.).

imago rather than an Aesopian school fable, this story might be thought to reflect satirically on other mice nearby, who may have lost track of who they really are: H., the son of a freed slave, recently upgraded to the owner of a luxury villa, and a friend of men who are godlike in power, and his ciuified friend, Maecenas, a man of decent enough provincial birth, who now rubs shoulders with the gods.

1–3 The poem’s opening lines announce the fulfillment of prayers ongoing and often prayed (see on *erat* next n.), in language that echoes a formal invocation of thanks to the gods for their fulfillment; see Fraenkel 1957: 138, n. 1, and Fedeli *ad loc.* The humble contours of the farm that the poet “pictures” in these lines (see next n.) reflects his determination to live a simple life within nature’s bounds, content with nature’s basic “enough.” But it also evokes the simple and morally pure aspirations of a farmer soldier from Rome’s legendary past, whose needs could be met, and desires fully satisfied, by a small patch of land that offered him little more than a roof to cover his head, a garden with a stream nearby and some wood to warm his hearth. By casting his aspirations in such highly resonant terms, the poet invites readers to consider his philosophical (and poetic) aspirations as an expression of conservative Roman values, figuring Epicurean contentment as an articulation of the *mos maiorum*.

The “farm dream” that opens the poem would have had a special, personal relevance for many in H.’s audience in the aftermath of Philippi. It captures the aspirations of countless Roman soldiers returning from war, hoping to make lives for themselves by working a small plot of land, and it recalls the losses of many hundreds of landholders who, like H. himself, lost their farms to the land confiscations of Octavian, because they had fought on the losing side. Because H. had no farm to return to, and because he could have harbored no hopes of being given one as a reward for his military service, the poem’s opening announcement of “prayers granted” (in the basic form of a farmer soldier’s farm) would have held some power to shock, confuse and impress.

1 *Hoc* refers to the miniature verbal painting (ecphrasis) that follows in lines 1–3, where emphasis is laid on the modest dimensions of what H. had prayed for: not a sprawling luxury villa, but a small-scale working farm (see prev. n.). Because the content of H.’s prayer is drawn as a picture, the term *hoc* doubles as an initial deictic, i.e. giving the (in this case false) impression that the speaker is on site, pointing to things in the world that surrounds him. As a hymnic device, cf. the first lines of Sappho 2, inviting Aphrodite to “come hither from Crete to this holy temple (ἐπ[ὶ τὸνδ]ε ναῦον). Directly following the invocation, Sappho draws a picture of the site itself: a temple with an apple grove, cold running water, and a

meadow nearby; cf. also Mart. 12.31.1, where the poet thanks his patroness for the gift of a villa at Bilbilis in words that recall the visual evocations of these lines: *Hoc nemus, hi fontes, haec textilis umbra*; on Martial's ἑκφρασις τόπου “set-piece description of place” as an imitation of H.’s three-line sketch in these lines, see Watson and Watson 2003: 134. On the use of deictic pronouns to evoke things really or fictively present, see Edmunds 2008, and Bakker 2005: 71–91. **erat**: the imperfect tense suggests that the prayers (here appropriately plural because ongoing) were not a one-time event, but repeated with some regularity over time. As such, the chosen tense speaks to the ardency of the poet’s desires. **modus agri** “a parcel of farmland” (*OLD modus* 1a). **non ita magnus**: i.e. a mere *agellus* (on which, see below 9 n.).

2 hortus: the garden evokes rustic self-sufficiency, and the solid moral fiber of Cato’s home-grown cabbage; see 4.15 n. But it is privileged here for its strong associations with Epicurus who, like Pythagoras, recommended a diet of vegetables (a *tenuis uictus*; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.89), and because his school, purposefully located in a garden outside the Dipylon Gate in Athens (i.e. blissfully far from the political intrigues of the *agora*), was commonly known, often pejoratively, as “the Garden” (κῆπος/*hortus*); see Clay 2009, and Courtney *ad* Juv. 13.122–3. By privileging the vegetable garden as the first item in his list, H. marks his villa as an Epicurean philosopher-poet’s humble escape. Maria Grazia Fiore, the archaeologist who headed the Licenza Villa Project (see poem intro. above), points out that, from the standpoint of the villa’s archaeological remains, the most striking feature of the entire complex is “the long porticated garden” (Frischer et al. 2006: xx). The house itself is imagined here as a mere **tecto** “dwelling” or “shelter”; cf. 3.10 where the villa’s diminutive dimensions are underscored (*tepido ... uillula tecto*, see n.), and cf. also the particular garden/shack combination of Simulus’ humble farm at *Mor.* 60: *hortus erat iunctus casulae*. **iugis** “ever-flowing” designates a spring that never runs dry. As a forward-thinking farmer, H. requires a source of water for his garden, but not necessarily an “ever-flowing spring” – a well, stream or pond will do quite nicely; cf. Cato *Agr.* 1.7 *hortus irriguus*, and Plin. *Nat.* 19.60. For “ever-flowing” (ἀένας) in archaic Greek lyric evoking poetry’s power to immortalize (esp. in Pindar), see Ford 2002: 108–12. On the extensive water imagery of Greek and Roman poetry, with specific attention to H.’s satiric waters, see Freudenburg 2018, with biblio. throughout. On the lyric and sacral valences of the phrase *iugis aquae fons*, see Seel 1972: 64–6; see also N–R on *Carm.* 3.13, an ode sung to the *fons Bandusiae*.

3 super his “above them,” i.e. located higher up. The phrase can also mean “in addition to these things.” Scholars are evenly divided between these options, but Seel 1972: 62–73 (following Voss and Schröder) makes

a vigorous case for keeping both senses in play. Taken as a spatial reference, the phrase issues from the practical mindset of a farmer who does not want to haul wood up from below. But the spatial detail also helps to fill out the picture of a small farm, with a garden and spring, situated near the base of a wooded hill; cf. Var. R. 1.12.1 designating a villa's ideal location as *sub radicibus montis siluestris*.

3–4 auctius atque | di melius fecere “the gods have provided more amply and more generously.” H. prayed for the basics of a bare bones working farm, but what he received was a large and lavishly appointed estate (see poem intro. above). The verb *benefacere* (often written as two words) is commonly used of gods acting kindly and “conferring a benefit” (*OLD benefacio*); cf. S. 1.4.17 *di bene fecerunt*. Here that idea is playfully amplified and done one better by the clever turn of phrase *melius fecere*, which substitutes the comparative (*melius*) for the positive (*bene*).

5 Maia nate “son of Maia,” i.e. Mercury, the god of business acumen, and bringer of unexpected windfall and financial success; cf. the financial “apotheosis” of Trimalchio by Mercury at Petr. 29.5 (see Schmeling *ad loc.*), and Trimalchio's boast at Petr. 77.4. The epic patronymic suits the context of a prayer or hymn of thanks, but it also hints at thanking, without directly naming, the more obvious source of the poet's success; for *Maia nate* gesturing sonically toward *Maecenas*, see Morgan 1994b, Reckford 1997: 595 and Oliensis 1998: 48. On “Maecenas the god” as a running theme in this poem, see Bond 1985. Further on Mercury's invocation here as the rustic god who sets and secures the boundaries of H.'s farm (the topic of lines 6–9 below) and as the inventor of the lyre, see Citroni 2000: 41, n. 28 and Freudenburg 2006: 155–7 and 15 n. below. **propria ... mihi** “permanently mine.” From a legal standpoint, the farm is already *propria* to Horace, i.e. his “property” as its *erus* or *dominus* “owner”; see *OLD proprius* 2a, and cf. 2.134 *erit nulli proprius* (see n.). Having lost his ancestral farm to the confiscations of Octavian, H. regards any legal claims that he might have on his new farm as a flimsy protection. Instead, he looks beyond the law, to the gods (in this case, to a god of good luck) to bestow the permanence he desires. **faxis**: the rare archaic form (a sigmatic optative aorist subjunctive, equivalent to *feceris*) derives from ritual language, and commonly has a god or “the gods” (*di faxint*) as its subject; see De Melo 2007: 346–7 and *OLS* 506.

6–15 A series of three “if” clauses (which can be translated “since,” see Courtney 2013a: 149) lead up to the “then” (i.e. the poet's prayer for fat sheep and a slender/restrained creative genius) of lines 14–15; cf. the “if” clauses of H.'s prayer (a kletic hymn) to Faunus in *Carm.* 3.18.1–8, which give a threefold justification for the speaker's request for help; see N–R *ad loc.*, and N–H *ad* 1.32.1–2.

6–7 rem “property” or “estate” (*OLD*s.v. 1). As conditions of his prayer’s fulfillment (see prev. n.), H. offers that he will neither increase the size of his estate *ratione mala* “by wicked scheming” (*OLD ratio* 10a), nor decrease it *uitio culpaue* “by loose living or neglect” (*OLD culpa* 3c); cf. the same contrast between greedy determination to expand one’s land and wasteful neglect of it at *Ep.* 2.2.183–7.

8 si ... horum “if I never stupidly come to you with prayers like these,” referring to the “Oh, if only” wishes that follow. **ueneror** “solicit,” “worship,” normally takes a divinity as its accusative object, but here it takes an internal accusative of the favor sought (**nihil**); see *OLD ueneror* 1b. **angulus ille** “that corner” or “nook” (of land) is recalled by Pers. 6.13–14, where the problem is not that the neighbor’s lot juts into his plot, but that it is richer: *securus et angulus ille | uicini nostro quia pinquior*. The symbolism of the *angulus* in H.’s poetry is rich and wide-ranging; for a useful summary, see Rimell 2015: 103.

9 denormat “disfigures” or (lit.) “puts out of square.” The word occurs nowhere else in classical Latin. The carpenter’s *norma* is a square used to make right angles. The idea seems to be that the poet’s small plot is nearly a perfect square or rectangle, but that one corner of it belongs to a neighbor. But it could be that the prefix *de-* carries the same sense that it has in verbs such as *designare* “mark off” or “outline,” and *definire* “put down limits,” cf. Porph. *ad loc.*: *illum designat, et uelut norma posita definit*. In this case, the fool is complaining that his farm is being “boxed off” by his neighbor’s field.

10–13 The fool who voices this prayer (a greedy and presumptuous prayer set within a grateful and unassuming one) longs for the good fortune of “that man” (*illi*) of traditional lore who was made rich by court- ing the friendship of Hercules. What makes him stand out as foolish (rather than just greedy) is that he recalls the story, but forgets its moral. According to the *fabula* (related in full by Porph. *ad* 12–13), there was a “certain farm hand” (*quendam mercennarium*) who constantly prayed to Hercules for “something good” (*aliquid boni*). Helped by Mercury, Hercules caused the man to find a treasure buried in the field where he was digging as a day laborer. Upon becoming rich (and presumably free to do as he pleased), the man proceeded to purchase the field where the treasure was found, and without further ado he went back to digging in the same field where had toiled before (*labori solito operam dedit*). The moral of the tale (as told by Mercury to Hercules) is that no amount of wealth could ever make such a man happy.

The story has a clear counterpart in the town mouse/country mouse fable of lines 79–117 below, in that both tales feature characters who, having been granted the bigger and better lives that they (thought they)

desired, end up right back where they started. The miserable *mercennarius* of this tale is also a “flipped” version of Ofellus in *S.* 2, who proves to be just as happy as a day laborer digging in the field that he once owned as he had been as its owner.

10 fors quae “some stroke of good luck” taking *quae* for *aliqua* after *si*.

10-12 ut illi ... mercennarius = *ut illi mercennario* “as (good luck once showed) to that farm hand”; cf. 1.10.16 where *illi ... quibus ... uiris* = *illi uiri quibus* (see Gowers *ad loc.*).

12-13 diues amico | Hercule “a rich man, thanks to a favoring Hercules.” The enjambment produces a moment of hesitation before the big name is dropped. For the adjective applied to propitious gods and patrons, see *OLD amicus*¹ 4a. Porph. *ad loc.* explains that Hercules was the god who presided over and protected treasures, and that country estates were under his protection. The evidence for these claims is slim, and Fedeli *ad loc.* has suggested that Porph. created his own blend of Greek and Roman beliefs to explain Hercules’ presence here, in what is normally Hermes’ territory.

13 quod adest “what is here,” i.e. the gift that has been given, just as it is, as opposed to what the inset fool wishes were there, but is not. **gratum:** whether taken with the neuter subject (describing the gift as something that the receiver is thankful for; *OLD* s.v. 2a), or as a masculine accusative object agreeing with an unexpressed *me* (describing the receiver as thankful for the gift; *OLD* s.v. 1), the sense remains the same: “If what is here pleases me, and I’m grateful for it.”

14-15 The prayer is spoken (as if) from the mindset of an unassuming farmer who calculates wealth in terms of fat sheep and fertile soil. Despite the prayer’s humble demeanor, the lines have long been recognized as a sophisticated reworking of Apollo’s words to the shepherd-poet, Tityrus, at Virg. *Ecl.* 6.4-5, enjoining him to feed his sheep fat, but recite song that is fine-spun, which itself recalls Apollo’s words to Callimachus at *Aet.* fr. 1, 22-4 Harder, where the contrast is between a “victim as fat as can be” (θύος ὅττι πάχιστον) and a “lithe and delicate Muse” (τὴν Μοῦσαν ... λεπταλέην), i.e. troping elegant song in terms of youthful female beauty and bodily thinness. Horace gives the programmatic epiphany a humorous turn by switching the poles of human and divine, i.e. from that of a god demanding from a poet a fat sheep/gift and thin song, to that of a poet praying for a fat sheep/gift and thin song (see next) from a god. Further on H.’s humorous adaptation of Callimachus and Virgil in these lines, see Cameron 1995: 459-60.

The prayer for a thin *ingenium* (inborn intellectual abilities as opposed to technical skills that one acquires) is most obviously a prayer for sharp wits, sought from a god of crafty quick thinking; cf. *pingue ingenium*

designating Midas as a dullard in his judgment of the lyre contest at *Ov. Met.* 11.148, and *Quint. Inst.* 10.2.19 where *tenue ingenium* indicates a delicate or subtle temperament that is naturally unsuited to sustaining rhetorical flights of “rugged boldness” (*fortia et abrupta*). Given the rich intertextual background of the passage, the prayer lends itself to being heard as a request for a refined “poetic talent” (*OLD ingenium* 5a).

Furthering the humor of these lines is the unspoken fact that, in his physical appearance, H. was anything but slender (*habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus*, *Suet. Poet.* 40.48), and he often makes fun of his plumpish figure in his poetry; e.g. a glistening pig from Epicurus’ flock (*Ep.* 1.4.15–16), an overfed little vixen (*Ep.* 1.7.29–33), and so on. The unusual separation of *ingenium* from the preposition that governs it puts a slight pause between two words that would normally be heard as one (a preposition followed directly by its object is proclitic, and constitutes a so-called “metrical word”; splitting them across the line-end is unusual), and the postponement of *ingenium* via enjambment sets it off as emphatic (cf. the “drumroll effect” produced by similar postponements at 4.25 and 4.64, see nn.): “make the master’s sheep fat, and everything else except his ... *talent*.” Which is to say that his body is best left unmentioned (better to focus on his insides). On “fat” and “thin” as stylistic metaphors, see Bramble 1974: 56–9, Gowers 1993: 147–9, and cf. 2.3, 5.40 above (see nn.).

For all of its humor, the prayer addresses what must have been a very real worry on H.’s part. Namely, that having received such a handsome, “fat” gift from Maecenas, he will be expected to reciprocate by producing poetry of a more fulsome and high-flying sort; see Freudenburg 2006: 158–9.

15 utque soles: the prayer formula (see Muecke *ad loc.*) implies that Mercury’s protection of H. is ongoing (“as ever,” trans. Rudd) and has served him well in the past. At *Carm.* 2.7.13–14 H. credits Mercury with whisking him from the field of battle at Philippi, and he numbers himself among men protected by Mercury (*uiri Mercuriales*) at *Carm.* 2.17.29–30; see N–H *ad loc.*, and 5 n. above. **adsis:** when a god is its subject, the verb means to be present in power, bringing assistance and favor; see *OLD* s.v. 13a, and cf. *Virg. G.* 1.18 *adsis, o Tegae, fauens*.

16–17 Graverini 2013: 153–4 draws a connection between these lines and the final lines of Callimachus’ *Aetia* (Callim. fr. 112.8–9 Harder): “A great farewell to you as well, Zeus, and may you keep the house of my lords safe. But, for my part, I am headed to the plain of the Muses (ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν).” Fowler 2000: 248 points out that “this marks the transition to the *Iambi*, a ‘lower’ genre.” For the last lines of the *Aetia* as a “hymnic farewell,” see Harder, vol. II: 863. H.’s use of Callimachus’

generic transition theme here effects a momentary shift into a higher mode, i.e. that of a (mock) hymn, high in form but low in content (see 17 n.).

16 arcem “citadel,” as if the farm were a hill-top fortress. As a reference to the lofty and fortified *templa serena* of Lucr. 2.7–8, see N–H *ad Carm.* 2.6.21–2 *beatae ... arces*, and Citti 2000: 85–6. **remoui** implies not just removal, but remoteness; see Fedeli *ad loc.* and N–H *ad Carm.* 2.3.6 where “*remoto* means not just ‘distant’ but ‘withdrawn from the bustle of the world.’” After *ergo ubi* the perfect tense can be taken to imply that H. has already made it to his farm (though it need not be taken this way), and that he is to be imagined writing from there: “Well then, now that I’ve left town for my castle in the hills” (trans. Rudd). For the problem of where we are to presume H. “writes from” in this poem, see intro. essay above.

17–23 Having addressed his prayer of thanks to Hermes (Maecenas), H. now imagines himself taking up a hymn of praise. But he does so not with lyre in hand (see next n.), but in a satiric, “pedestrian” mode. The mock hymn features the same “who do I sing first” and “how do I name thee” formulae found in numerous lyric hymns; see 17 and 20 below, and cf. the mock hymn to the break of day (*Aurora*) of Ov. *Am.* 1.13, which is expressed in a tone that is similarly resentful rather than adulatory, and features similar inversions of standard hymnic conceits; see McKeown *ad loc.* and Watson 1982.

17 quid prius illustrem “what shall I shed luster upon (give renown to) first?” As a standard “priamel” formula of hymns, cf. *Carm.* 1.12.1–13, which recalls Pind. *Ol.* 2.2 “what god, what hero, what man shall I celebrate (κελαδήσομεν)?” **satiris musaque pedestri**: “with my satire’s foot-going/unmusical muse,” but equally valid in reverse: “with my foot-going/unmusical muse’s satires.” Via hendiadys, a single (noun/adjective) concept is broken into two constituent parts (noun + noun). The device sounds a lofty note, as at *Carm.* 1.32.9 (another hymn): *Musas Veneremque* “the Muses of Venus,” i.e. love poetry. Here the instrumental ablatives take the place of the actual musical instrument that one expects the hymn singer to name, e.g. the lyre and/or flute, as in *Carm.* 1.12.1–2 (see prev. n.) and Pind. *Ol.* 2.1 Ἀναξίφορμιγγες ὕμνοι. For *satura* used as a generic term in Latin literature; see above 1.1 n. The adjective *pedester*, which has an exact counterpart in Gk πεζός, implies that the satires are prosaic (*OLD* s.v. 3b, and LSJ πεζός II.1), inspired by a Muse who travels on foot (*OLD* s.v.1a, LSJ πεζός I.1a) and cannot fly; see Rudd *ad Ep.* 2.1.250–1. For πεζός in the sense “without musical accompaniment,” see LSJ s.v. II.2 and III.2.

18–19 The lines describe the farm’s salubrious benefits in terms of the escape it offers from the city’s “killer” political grind (*me ambitio perdit*), and from the city’s equally deadly air and heat in late summer and autumn.

18 ambitio: here refers to the tiresome daily routine of making the rounds (i.e. *ambitio* in the literal sense of *ambo* + *ire* “going around” the city) that H. complains of in the lines that follow. **plumbeus auster** “leaden sirocco,” a heavy and humid hot wind that blows in from the south, often laden with sand from the Sahara. Its designation as “leaden” may also refer to the sky’s turning sickly grey when the sirocco blows.

19 autumnusque: the death rate in ancient Rome spiked annually from late July through October, with malaria accounting for a high percentage of deaths; see Scheidel 1994. **Libitinae:** Libitina was the goddess of funerals, and Rome’s undertakers were known as *libitinarii*. The tools of the funeral trade were stored in Libitina’s temple, located in her sacred grove outside the Esquiline gate, near the pauper’s graveyard that doubled as trash dump and a site of execution; see Kyle 1998: 166–7 and Bodel 1994: 13–20. Libitina is often talked of as profiting from death; cf. Phaedr. 4.21.26, Suet. *Nero* 39.1.

20 Matutine pater “Father Daybreak.” The solemn title is applied to Janus only here, where he is mockingly “praised” as the god who launches H. into the fray every morning (Janus is a god of beginnings), setting him to scurry about on behalf of his patron. As above in line 5 (see n.), one can hear the name *Mae-ce-nas* echoing inside the oddly chosen epithet *Matu-ti-ne*. The term *pater* was often used to refer to one’s *patronus* (see *OLD* s.v. 5), and H. tells of regularly addressing Maecenas as “father” at *Ep.* 1.7.37–8. **Iane:** as in a formal hymn, the god is invoked under multiple names and/or epithets; see Thom 2005 on Cleanthes *Hymn to Zeus* 1–2, Richardson 2010 on *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 19–24, and N–R on *Carm.* 3.21.5–6 (another mock hymn). **audis** “you are addressed as”; see *OLD* s.v. 5a, and cf. 7.101 below (see n.).

21 unde = *a quo*. See N–H *ad Carm.* 1.12.17, deeming such usage “archaic and grandiose.” **operum primos uitaeque labores** “the first toils of their laborious lives” (hendiadys, see 17 n.). As a reference to Aratus, see next n., and cf. H.’s advice to Plancus at *Carm.* 1.7.17–18, urging him to “put a stop to gloom and the toils of life (*finire ... tristitiam uitaeque labores*)” by drinking mellow wine.

22–3 tu carminis esto | principium: both the language and the larger rationale of these lines parodically recall the opening lines of Aratus’ *Phaenomena*. Aratus begins by saying, “Let us begin with Zeus,” and he then proceeds to describe how all the world is filled with Zeus; how Zeus

set the stars in place as “signs helpful to men,” and how he “rouses people to work (λαοὺς δ’ ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει), putting them in mind of their livelihood” (6–7). Whereas in Aratus the entire emphasis is on Zeus as “Father, great marvel, and a source of strength for human kind” (15), the rationale given here for beginning with Matutinus/Janus amounts to: “Let Daybreak begin my hymn because he begins my dreary daily grind”; cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 125–74 where the peaceful and “guiltless” activities that are set in motion by the dawn’s first light in the countryside are set against the frantic, greed-driven activities of the city. Further on the “let us begin with Jupiter” motif, see Cucchiarelli *ad Ecl.* 3.60.

23 sponsorem: a *sponsor* is someone who appears before the praetor to attest to the character and good faith of a friend. As a routine burden of the poet’s life in the city, cf. *Ep.* 2.2.65–7. **me rapis:** the language is decidedly thuggish, and suggestive of forced abduction.

24 urge “push on” or “keep at it,” here takes a final clause introduced by *ne*. For the rare construction, see *OLD* s.v. 12a. The imitation of these lines at Pers. 5.132–3 suggests that Persius may have had a text of H. that read *surge* (“get up!”) rather than *urge*.

25 bruma is contracted from the superlative of *brevis*, and refers to the year’s shortest day, i.e. the dead of winter; cf. Var. *L.* 6.8 *dicta bruma quod breuissimus tunc dies est*.

26 gyro: the sun’s “orbit” (*OLD* s.v. 4a) is here imagined as a circular “track” that is shortest and fastest when traversed on the inside. A chariot metaphor is to be observed in the way that winter “draws the daylight” along the inside track, i.e. the winter sun races to the finish by staying low to the ground and setting quickly. Such elaborate, and highly figured, circumlocutions designating seasons and times of day are the stuff of high epic and tragedy, and (as here) are common objects of mockery in satire; see Eden *ad Sen. Apoc.* 2. **ire necesse est:** sc. *mihi*.

27 postmodo: best construed with *quod mi obsit*, which serves as the object of *locuto*: “having made a loud and unflinching commitment to what may later do me harm.” As *sponsor* (see 23 n. above), H.’s finances are at stake, as well as his reputation.

29 The reading of the MSS produces an un-metrical verse: “*quid tibi uis, insanē?*” et “*quas res agis?*” *improbis urget*. To fix the problem, Bentley proposed emending *quas res* to *quam rem*, thus allowing for the elision of *rem* into *agis*. He argued that it was, in fact, the unusual harshness of that original and correct elision (an elision common in comedy – see below – but otherwise unexampled in H., who elsewhere elides monosyllabic *rem* or *re* only before words beginning with long vowels/syllables; cf. 2.27, 3.189, 4.48) that caused some ancient transcriber to replace *quam rem* with *quas res*. Most editors have since followed Bentley’s emendation.

Some lesser MSS solve the metrical problem by eliminating *tibi*, but that involves truncating a commonplace expression; cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.269: “*quid tibi uis,*” *inquit*, “*insane?*” and Prop. 1.5.3 *quid tibi uis, insane?* Palmer proposed reading *asine* for *insane*, and Shackleton Bailey 1982: 84 proposed retaining *quas res* by eliminating *agis* and emending *urget* to *urges*. This has a strong claim to being correct because the context makes clear that it is H. who is in a hurry and “pushing” at this point, not the anonymous bystander. The emendation I have proposed here (*quare me improbus urges?* “why are you insolently shoving me?”) assumes that an original *quare me* was at some point mistaken for *quam rem*, thus necessitating the addition of *agis* for reasons both of meter and sense, and that the harsh elision that resulted was subsequently “corrected” to the un-metrical *quas res* of the MSS, as Bentley long ago proposed (see above).

30-1 The bystander who is rudely pushed aside by H. returns the favor by taunting him for his resemblance to a comic parasite or “running slave” (*seruus currens*) as he rushes back to Maecenas with important news, pushing and kicking (and perhaps even cursing, see next n.) as he goes; cf. the parasite Ergasilus at Plaut. *Capt.* 791-3, Pinacium at *St.* 285-6, Curculio at *Cur.* 280-2. Further on H. as a comic *seruus currens* in these lines, see Labate 1996: 440. For the motif of “running slaves” in Roman comedy, see Csapo 1987.

30 *iratis precibus* “angrily cursing as you go.” Like the typical “running slave” of Roman comedy (see prev. n.), H. hurls angry threats at bystanders who get in his way.

31 *memori ... mente* constitutes a *figura etymologica*; cf. Var. *L.* 6.44 *ab eadem mente meminisse dictum*. The highly alliterative phrase (see next n.) implies both “deep in your own thoughts” and “with your mind on your duties” (*OLD memor* 2); cf. Cic. *Planc.* 80. The phrase has often been taken as a reference to the poet’s devotion to Maecenas, in the sense “with your mind thinking only of him.” But the running slaves and parasites of Roman comedy (see above 30-1 n.) commonly race to find their masters in order to deliver urgent messages that occupy their thoughts and that they must work hard to remember.

32 *hoc* refers to H.’s harried efforts on Maecenas’ behalf, as opposed to the unpleasant business that is loaded onto him by others who depend on him (precisely because of his connections to Maecenas) in lines 33-9. *melli* (a predicate dative) and *mentiar* conclude a two-line, alliterative string of *mae-/me-/mor-* sounds. For a similar alliterative string used in a context focused on memory, cf. Plaut. *Ps.* 940 *memorem immemorem facit qui monet quod memor meminit*. *atras* “gloomy” because the place was a former graveyard, and going there at the crack of dawn (while it is still “dark,” and given all the duties that will “jump out at” him there, see next two nn.) puts H. in a foul mood.

33 **Esquilias** is accusative of end of motion or “place to which,” here in a mock-epic context; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.2 *Italiam fato profugus Lauiniaque uenit*. Maecenas made space for a sprawling luxury estate on the Esquiline hill by clearing away a pauper’s graveyard; see Gowers and the scholiasts *ad S.* 1.8.8. Wiseman 2016 argues that Maecenas’ urban estate did not extend as far as the pauper’s graveyard, which was just beyond the Esquiline gate. Further on Maecenas’ “Garden” mansion in Rome, see 3.312 n. On the scant remains of the *Horti Maecenatis* that can still be seen today, see Coarelli 2007: 196–9.

33–9 The metaphor that tropes “other people’s business” as a clamoring throng that leaps up at the poet’s approach and surrounds him on all sides continues the theme of the Esquiline’s graveyard “gloom” sounded in the prev. two lines (see nn.) by recalling Odysseus’ adventures in the land of the dead at *Od.* 11.632–3 “the dead came surging round me, hordes of them, thousands raising unearthly cries” (trans. Fitzgerald). The snippets of direct speech in these lines describe the routine demands that accost H. as he reaches Maecenas’ Esquiline mansion on any given day: through a go-between, an acquaintance begs H. to meet him the next morning in the forum, for a case involving unpaid debts; a fellow treasury official implores him to return to their headquarters for a meeting later that same day; another man cajoles H. into taking documents to Maecenas for him to sign. All who jump out at him as he arrives at Maecenas’ mansion have made their way to the Esquiline not to see Maecenas, but to catch H. on his way in to see him. All work on the false assumption (disproved in lines 40–6) that H. is a deal-maker who is part of Maecenas’ powerful inner circle, and that he actually enjoys expending influence as a rising political player in Rome; cf. Lyne 1995: 17: “*Satire* 2.6 suggests that some people were getting wrong ideas.”

34 **per caput ... latus** “jump down on/across my head and leap round my side.” For *per* in this sense, cf. Liv. 1.48.7.

35 **Roscius** is otherwise unknown, but shares his name with two men who were famously defended by Cicero early in his career. **orabat** “was begging” is here equivalent to “is begging.” The imperfect tense (a so-called “epistolary imperfect”; see *OLS* 413) is used here to mark the delay between the request’s being made and its subsequent delivery by an intermediary; cf. Ter. *Eu.* 532–3 *Thais maxumo | te orabat opere ut cras redires* (“Thais urgently entreats you to return tomorrow”). **sibi adesses** “that you be there to support him” follows the past sequence introduced by *orabat* (here without *ut*). For this sense of the verb, see *OLD* *adsum* 11 and 12, Gowers *ad* 1.9.38, and cf. *adsis* in line 15 above (see n.). **Puteal** “well” refers to Libo’s Well, a cylindrical marble structure that marked the spot of a lightning strike (thus not actually a well, but a *bidental* that happened

to resemble a well-head) located near the urban praetor's tribunal in the Roman forum. The landmark served as a place for money-lenders and defaulting debtors to meet on the date of their appearance before the urban praetor. See Kaster 2006 *ad* Cic. *Sest.* 18.

36 scribae “(your fellow) scribes.” The seriousness of the top-secret “big issue” that has come up for discussion among the scribes that very day is underscored by the slow pace of the spondaic verse. Suet. *Vita Hor.* relates that, after he had successfully sought pardon for fighting on the losing side at Philippi, H. purchased a salaried position as a *scriba quaestorius*. The position would have been purchased at great expense, and its being made available to H. is sure to have required a significant expenditure of influence (*gratia*) by some well-placed friend(s). The line suggests that H. still retains the position, even though he is now a man of substantial wealth (a villa owner), and classed among the “friends” most favored by Maecenas. The quaestors’ scribes were high-level government administrators who assisted the annually elected *quaestores* (who were in charge of public finances) by recording and tallying up all the business of Rome’s public treasury (*aerarium*). Such positions were held for life, and carried a respectable (albeit sub-senatorial) level of social prestige. The *scribae quaestorii* were paid a comfortable ongoing salary, and they had ample opportunities for earning additional income paid on commission. Armstrong 1986: 264 points out that the position “offered every opportunity for as much profitable business and legal work, or as much literary leisure, as its holder happened to want.” Any leisure that H. may have enjoyed in this position before becoming acquainted with Maecenas has long since disappeared.

37 orabant: an epistolary imperfect (see 35 n.). **Quinte:** by using the *praenomen*, the man dips into the language of easy familiarity, to suggest that H. is an old friend who belongs to the same closed group, and who knows what he is talking about even when he is being secretive (see prev. n.). Further on the mapping of Roman naming conventions on a scale that ranges from “highly formal” (all three names) to “intimate” (*mi* + one name, or a bare *praenomen*), see Adams 1978, and cf. 5.32 above (see n.).

38 cura “see to it” (*OLD* *curo* 6c), used here without *ut*. **signa** “his seal.” At least since the early thirties BCE Maecenas had served (at times in tandem with Agrippa) as Octavian’s principal agent in Rome. Dio 51.3.5–6 relates that Octavian had a duplicate of his signet ring made for Agrippa and Maecenas to use during his ongoing absence from the city, which was nearly continuous from the early thirties BCE until his triumphal return to Rome in August of 29.

40 septimus octauo propior “the seventh year, by now closer to the eighth.” By inclusive reckoning, this means “nearly seven years now,” thus

dating the satire's composition to late 31 or early 30 BCE. On dating H.'s inclusion among the *amici* of Maecenas to late 38/early 37 BCE, see Gowers *ad* 1.6.61–2.

42–6 H. offers a rare peak behind closed (mansion) doors in these lines, into what his readers must have imagined was the fascinating and highly secretive life that he lived with Maecenas. The trivial and unforthcoming nature of his account is tailor-made to disappoint the more celebrity-obsessed among his readers. In being so tight-lipped, these lines make a point about H. as a confidant and trusted friend who, despite what he says in line 46, knows how to keep his patron's secrets, even within the tell-all “conversational” genre of satire. In the end, the lines leave one quite sure that his life with Maecenas could not have possibly been as mundane as H. says it is; cf. the interlocutor's skepticism in line 54 below (see n.).

42–3 *dumtaxat ad hoc ... iter faciens* “but only as someone he might like to take in his carriage when making a trip.” For this sense of *tollere*, see *OLD* s.v. 6. By mentioning carriage rides with Maecenas, H. refers back to the spring of 37 BCE, when he accompanied Maecenas as far as Brindisi, where Maecenas sought to broker a peace between Antony and Octavian (the actual treaty was subsequently concluded at Tarentum). H. satirizes his role in Maecenas' diplomatic entourage in *S.* 1.5, where he adopts the standpoint of a comfort-obsessed Epicurean, new to Maecenas' circle, who has no interest in big politics and is merely along for the ride; see Freudenburg 2001: 51–8, and Gowers 182–6. **concredere nugās:** Labate 2009: 118 dubs the phrase a “barbed oxymoron” because it implies that H. “can only be trusted with matters of no account.” He further argues (cf. Muecke *ad* 40–58) that an Ennian paradigm stands behind the portrait of the interactions between H. and Maecenas in these lines: *Annales* 268–86 Sk. describes the open and supportive interactions that take place between an anonymous lesser friend (perhaps a self-portrait of Ennius himself) and a busy statesman, Servilius, who feels free to unload his worries on him (*euomeret*), and to entrust him with his weightiest secrets (*tuto locaret*), because he knows that the man has “a scrupulous regard for keeping and guarding a secret.”

44 *Thraex ... Gallina* “the Thracian Hen” refers to a gladiator of the time (otherwise unknown, but presumably small and scrappy) who fought in Thracian arms: a short, curved sword (*sica*) and a small shield (*parma*). **Syro:** the common slave name is also an ethnic designation: “the Syrian.” For gladiator shows as the topic of meaningless chit-chat, cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.37.4.

45 *frigora mordent*: already in antiquity, the weather was the quintessential topic of meaningless small talk; see Courtney *ad* *Juv.* 4.87–8.

46 rimosa ... aure “a leaky ear” is one that spills the secrets that are poured into it.

47–9 The hostile emotion of *invidia* “envy/malicious dislike” is explored via its etymological origins in these lines (*in* + *uidere* “look upon”), as bystanders visually track the movements of H. and Maecenas wherever they go. The idea that the two men constitute a moving spectacle is underscored by the conceptual anaphora of *ludos ... luserat*, whereby H. goes from being a spectator who is himself watched as he takes in shows/sports (*ludos spectauerat*, see 48 n.) to a player of games that are avidly gazed upon as “sports show” by others.

47 subiection “more a target of/exposed to,” c. dat. (*OLD subicio* 6a).

48 noster “our man” finds H. referring to himself in the third person. The perspectival shift serves to identify H. as belonging to the larger group that has been gathered in by Maecenas, and whose members identify as his people (“one of us”). For this sense of *nos/noster*, see Bettini 2011: 180–4, commenting on Plaut. *Am.* 399. **ludos** “the shows” may refer to “plays” in the theater (cf. 8.79, see n.) or to “sports” in the Circus, i.e. chariot races. The important point is that when H. and Maecenas attend these spectacles, they themselves are the main show. **una** “together” (sc. “with Maecenas”) is to be taken with both *spectauerat* and *luserat* in the next line. For the use of the pluperfect indicatives in past generalizing conditions (here the *si* is unexpressed), see *NLS* §194.

49 luserat: see prev. n. **campo** refers to the Campus Martius. By the late thirties BCE, what had been an open “field” just outside the city walls was well on its way to being filled in by temples, baths and monuments (e.g. the Theater of Pompey, the Gardens of Pompey, the Gardens of Agrippa), but it was still open enough to be used for equestrian exercises and various recreational pursuits, such as *trigon*, a “triangle” ball game that Maecenas seems to have enjoyed playing; see Gowers *ad* 1.5.48, 1.6.126. On the Campus Martius in the cultural life of the city in the late thirties BCE, see Jones 2016: 27–9. **“Fortunae filius”** “Fortune’s son!” As an expression of envy, the phrase amounts to: “lucky bastard!” Further on the proverbial expression, see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 43.7 *plane Fortunae filius*. The envious outsider looks at H.’s rise from obscure freedman’s son to a handsomely “propertied” and intimate friend of Maecenas, and he sees only the workings of luck.

50 frigidus “chilling,” i.e. “alarming” (*OLD* s.v. 6b). **rostris**: the speaker’s platform in the Roman forum, named after the naval ramming “beaks” that decorated it. **manat** “leaks out” (*OLD* s.v. 6b). **compita** “cross-roads” refers to the busy squares where multiple roads ran together, and that served to define the various neighborhoods of Rome.

51 me consulit: the stranger who buttonholes H. seeks insight into the will of “the gods” (next n.), consulting him as if he were a seer; cf. 4.12

and 5.2 (see nn.). For the possibility that H. here (self-mockingly) anticipates his posturing as *uates* (“priest-seer”) in the *Odes*, see Freudenburg 2006: 163, and cf. next n.

52 deos “the gods” in question are Octavian and Maecenas; see [Acro] *ad loc.* and 65 n. As a conceit of high panegyric, cf. *Carm.* 3.5.2–3. Further on the sovereign as *deus praesens*, cf. 5.60–3 above (see nn.), and see Cucchiarelli *ad Virg. Ecl.* 1.41.

53 Dacis “the Dacians” is a general term encompassing a wide array of tribal peoples (e.g. Istrians, Moesians, Bastarnae) who lived along a large stretch of the lower Danube (*Ister*) in what is now Romania and Bulgaria. Dio 51.8 relates that the Dacians sided with Antony after failing in their overtures toward Octavian. It must be kept in mind that Antony is still alive at the time this satire is written. Whether the Dacians posed any real threat to Rome in the aftermath of Actium is unknown, but the rhetoric of the late thirties treats them as a horde menacing from the north; cf. Virg. *G.* 2.497, where the list of things not worried about by simple Roman farmers includes *coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro*. In 30 BCE (within months of this satire; see above 40 n.) a decision was taken to launch a pre-emptive strike against the Dacians, led by Marcus Licinius Crassus, a former Antonian who was consul with Octavian in the same year. As pro-consul of Macedonia in 29 and 28, Crassus led an expedition against the Bastarnae on their home turf, and he celebrated a triumph over them in 27. Further on fears of a Dacian invasion in the immediate aftermath of Actium, see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.8.18 (a poem dating to March of 28 BCE), where Maecenas is told that they are no longer a threat that he needs to worry about. “**nil equidem**” “nothing at all.” **ut** is exclamatory, and qualifies the entire clause that follows.

54–5 derisor “wise guy.” The elusive term is hard to square with any single English word. At Plaut. *Capt.* 71 the word is used of comic parasites, and again at Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.10–11 it is used to describe a lackey on the bottom couch (*imi lecti*), who scores laughs by running other people down, but who fawns over his rich host, and lives in fear of his disapproval. That is part of the equation here: H. is being pegged as a kept man who is eager to please Maecenas; cf. 30–1 above (see nn.). But the terms *derisor* and *deridere* often refer to mockery of an ironizing and indirect kind that serves to “dupe” or “make a fool of” someone, or to help “laugh one’s way out of” something; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 5.6.6 where Socrates is described as *derisor omnium, maxime potentium*, and OLD *derideo* 1b, where the verb means to “escape” or “get off scot free.” These latter senses are in play here as well, as H. is being accused of dodging his way around a serious question, and never saying what he really means. Further on *derisor* in the sense of εἰρων (“dissembler”), see Courtney 2013a: 152. **exagitent me** “may they harry

me to madness,” i.e. in the manner of avenging furies; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 120.1, Sil. 2.296. **quicquam**: sc. *scio* or *audiui*. **Triquetra** “triangular” agrees with *tellure* in the next line, and refers to Sicily; cf. Lucr. 1.717.

55–6 Dio 51.3–4 relates that after Actium Octavian dispersed his troops to Italy, promising to settle up with them later, and that he sent Agrippa back to Rome to help Maecenas hold things together while he set off to find and finish off Antony and Cleopatra. But by the first months of 30 BCE the uncompensated veterans had become impatient and were threatening revolt. Thus Octavian temporarily abandoned his search for Antony and returned to Brundisium in order to settle with his soldiers, arranging for cash payments to some, and for allocation of lands to those who had served with him longest. At the time of this satire’s composition, the question of where those land confiscations would take place was still unsettled, and very much of the moment. Sicily was a good guess (though, in the end, an incorrect one), because the island had thrown in with Caesar’s assassins and with Sextus Pompey in the late forties and early thirties BCE. Further on the land allocations of 30 BCE, see Keppie 1983: 73–82, and N–R *ad Carm.* 3.4.37–8.

57–8 **unum** is to be taken closely with *mortalem* in the next line: “a man unique among mortals,” *OLD* s.v. 8. **scilicet** “can you imagine!” or “go figure!” calls attention to the absurdity of the presumption; *OLD* s.v. 4b. H. suggests that he and Maecenas both know better than to regard him as a man of profound silence.

59 **perditur** “gets frittered away,” *OLD* s.v. 6. **haec inter** = *inter haec* (postposition). **misero**: sc. *mihi*. **lux** “the day,” *OLD* s.v. 4.

60–7 The extended apostrophe is laid out as a tricolon: *o rus ... o quando ... o noctes cenaque deum*. For a detailed rhetorical analysis, emphasizing the pronounced mismatch of elevated tone to humble content, see Witke 1970: 68–70. The lines recall Virg. *G.* 2.458–540, where the poet expatiates on the glories of the simple life that he longs to escape to in the countryside: *o fortunatos nimium ... o ubi campi | Spercheosque ... o qui me gelidis conuallibus Haemi | sistat* (458, 486–7, 488–9). Virgil imagines his farmers living lives of hard-won abundance, far from the scheming rat-race of the city, and utterly free from worries that plague powerful men, such as whether the Dacians will invade from the north (497, on which see above 53 n.).

61–2 In longing for sleep (*somnus*) and forgetfulness (*obliuium*) at his country estate, H. aligns himself with the rich fool of Lucr. 3.1057–70, who attempts to run away from what ails him by racing off to his country estate where “either he goes off into a deep sleep in a search for oblivion (*aut abit in somnum grauis atque obliuia quaerit*, 1066), or he rushes straight back to the city.” The importance of this tale will become obvious below,

in the story of the country mouse who leaps at the chance to escape his rustic hole, only to go racing right back to it after a mere moment of high living in the city.

61 ueterum libris: H. dreams of reading ancient works, presumably in Greek; cf. 3.11–12 (see n.), where his travel companions are all writers of Greek classics (Plato, Menander, Archilochus) from hundreds of years before. **somno et inertibus horis** “sleep and hours lazily spent” are highlighted as attractions of the countryside at Virg. *G.* 2.467–70.

62 ducere “draw in” is a drinking metaphor (*OLD* s.v. 25b): instead of “leading” his life (the common phrase being played upon here is *ducere uitam*), H. dreams of forgetting it by “drawing in” forgetfulness, i.e. as if drinking from the river Lethe “Forgetfulness” (= Lat. *Obliuium*); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.714–15 *Lethaei ad fluminis undam | securos latices et longa obliuia potant*. The same nexus of laziness, forgetfulness and sleep can be found in the first three lines of *Epode* 14, where the river Lethe is specifically mentioned.

63 faba: as the humble fare of commoners, see 3.182. Although Pythagoras and his followers adhered to a strict vegetarian diet, for reasons that remain mysterious they abstained from eating beans. Between them, Diogenes Laertius (8.24 and 8.34) and Plutarch (*Mor.* 663f) give eleven different explanations for the Pythagoreans’ bean taboo, ranging from flatulence to certain negative associations having to do with oligarchic rule. Burkert 1972: 183 points out that “the interpretations that are most closely related to genuine Pythagoreanism are those which connect beans with the doctrine of metempsychosis,” though he further explains (pp. 184–92) that the extreme ascetic discipline of the Pythagoreans, of which the bean taboo was a very small part, emerged from ritual behaviors that, if they were explained at all, were first explained by myths, not by doctrines that were fully worked out, or that laid claim to truth by appealing to logic. **Pythagorae cognata** “Pythagoras’ relative” pokes fun at the sect’s strange extension of human-like qualities to beans; cf. Plut. *Quest. conv.* 635e where Plutarch’s Epicurean dinner-companion, Alexander, taunts him for his adherence to “doctrines whether Orphic or Pythagorean” that kept him from eating eggs, by citing a verse of the *Orphic Hymns* (fr. 291 Kern) where eating beans is likened to “eating your parents’ heads.” For meat-eating equated with slaughtering one’s relatives, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.173–4. For various philosophical justifications of vegetarianism in antiquity, see Griffin 1976: 38–40 and Harden 2013: 64–86.

64 uncta “oiled/rich.” **pingui** “fat/plump.” The adjectives give one to expect that something rather more luxuriant might be on offer than mere *holuscula* “veggies” cooked with *lardo* “bacon.” Both nouns have been humorously postponed (*paraprosokeian*) to the end of an elaborately

structured “golden” line. The diminutive *holuscula* carries a tone of sentimental pining (cf. *willula* in 3.10 above; see n.), besides emphasizing the meal’s simplicity. This is the only place in his works where H. describes himself eating (or at least longing to eat) meat; cf. *S.* 1.6.114–15, *Ep.* 1.5.2, *Carm.* 1.31.15, where his diet is exclusively vegetarian. For the combination of salted pork and vegetables coded as “Catonian,” see above 2.117 n.

65–76 H. describes the type of highly idealized, old-style “Catonian” (see 66 n.) *cena* that he longs to share with friends at his country estate. In its every particular, the rustic meal is the diametrical opposite of the showy formal dinners that H. was wont to attend with Maecenas in the city (on which, see poem 8 below): rather than expensive luxuries, it features humble fare; it takes place in the atrium rather than in the hierarchically stratified performance space of the Roman triclinium; the slaves who serve the meal are home-born and loosely managed, rather than imported from afar to serve as specimens of beauty and spectacles of masterly discipline; the guests who attend are friends in a deep sense, not political players angling for influence and showing off for one another, and the conversations that they engage in are meaningful rather than vacuous and gossipy. Perhaps most important of all, it is a meal that H. hosts rather than attends as guest or tag-along of Maecenas. This final point is emphasized in the snapshot at the beginning of the passage, where H. imagines himself hosting friends before “his own” hearth, attended by his slaves. The lines are a visual study of the idea of the Roman *dominus* in several of that term’s most basic senses, picturing H. as, all at once, the “owner” of his estate and “master” to his slaves (*OLD* s.v. 1), and “host” to his guests (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

65 *cenaeque deum* “feasts of the gods.” For the archaic genitive *deum* (= *deorum*), see 2.104 n. From the standpoint of a man “partied out” by the high life that he lives with “the god” Maecenas (see 20 and 52 nn.), bacon-dressed vegetables look like heavenly ambrosia; cf. 2.117 (see n.) where salted pork and vegetables are the everyday fare of Ofellus. The same foods are transformed into a literal “feast of the gods” at *Ov. Met.* 8.647–8, where vegetables cooked with bacon constitute the main course of the meal that Baucis and Philemon serve to Jupiter when he visits their humble farm. *quibus* depends on *uescor* in the next line. *ipse meique* “my friends and I.” The verb agrees in number with *ipse* (sc. *ego*), the first element of a compound subject; see *OLS* 1256, citing this line.

66 *ante Larem proprium* “before a Lar/hearth that is one’s own,” i.e. “mine.” The adjective *proprium* has much stronger legal connotations than *meum*; see 5 n. above. The image that H. paints of dining with friends before the hearth sounds a note of old-time rustic piety by removing the activity of dining from the highly hierarchical and competitive

performance space of the Roman triclinium; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.726, citing the Elder Cato's assertion that Romans of old used to dine in the atrium, limiting their "banquets" to two courses. **uernasque:** refers to slaves who were born to female slaves within the *familia*, as opposed to slaves who were purchased, or given as legacies or gifts. Home-bred slaves were generally considered more devoted to their master, and the relations they shared with him and his family were often based in genuine affection; see Rawson 1986: 186–97. Their designation as *procaces* "pushy" suggests that, because of their long familiarity with H. (the term touches on his indulgence as well), they feel at ease to speak their minds, here presumably "pushing" to be fed; cf. Sen. *Prov.* 1.6 on *licentia* and *audacia* as qualities valued in *uernae*, and encouraged by their masters. For happy slaves surrounding a rustic hearth as "a traditional image of domestic serenity," see Watson *ad Epod.* 2.65–6. For Roman paintings picturing masters and slaves engaged in communal celebrations and banquets before the hearth, see Edmondson 2011: 344–5.

67–70 H. imagines each dinner guest drinking as much as he likes, with no *arbiter bibendi* (Gk συμποσιάρχος) there to prescribe how strong the wine should be, and how much of it each guest must drink. Working separately, both Leach 1993: 284 and Muecke *ad loc.* point out that the lines make reference to the opening stages of Plato's *Symposium*, where the guests, still hung-over from the night before, agree to mix the wine each as he pleases (πίνοντας πρὸς ἡδονήν, 176e).

67 libatis dapibus "after we've taken our 'first taste' of the feast." Commentators are evenly divided between two possible senses: "after making an offering of the feast" (*OLD libo*¹ 1b) and "after we've lightly tasted the feast" (*OLD libo*¹ 3). But it seems that both senses are in play. The main difficulty with the first option is that the verb *libare* refers to a first taste that is offered to the gods, i.e. this should happen at the beginning of the meal, not at the end. That said, the location of this feast *ante Larem* makes the connotations of a ritual offering hard to rule out. The solution comes in realizing that, at this rustic feast, H. and his friends are "the gods" in question (see 65 n.): their meal is construed as a light "first taste" that they partake in. After "the gods" (H. and friends) have had their obligatory first nibble, the slaves proceed to feast on the offered foods. In other words, the gods' meal does not end with an offering, it is the offering that, in turn, ritually commences the slaves' meal; cf. above 2.124 where a libation is the prelude to the drinking. **prout:** scan as one syllable (synizesis). Though common in prose, the word appears only here in all of classical Latin poetry.

68 inaequales "unequal." Although this may indicate that the cups are of different sizes, i.e. some large and others small (cf. 8.35 n.), the point

being emphasized here is that the cups are filled with wines differently measured and mixed, i.e. some with strong wine, and others with weak.

69 capit ... fortis “bravely takes up,” as a hero his weapon.

70 modicis: sc. *poculis*. **uuescit** “becomes sodden,” here punning on *uua* “grapes/wine.” For ancient etymologies connecting *uua* to *uuor* (e.g. Var. *L.* 5.104 *uuae ab uuore*), see Maltby s.v. *uua*. Elsewhere the verb occurs only at Lucr. 1.306, where it refers to cloths that are dampened by breezes blowing in from the sea. In both cases the point emphasized by the inchoative form is that the process takes place gradually. **ergo** “therefore” marks the transition to the party’s last stage (the *commissatio*, with drinking and conversation), and posits a connection between controlled drinking and meaningful conversation.

71–6 Greek philosophical learning is rendered as an expression of old Roman values in these lines, as local farmers are imagined in the role of symposiasts engaging in serious philosophical dialogue, looking to improve their minds, and their relationships to one another, rather than their farms. As in Plato’s *Symposium*, discrete topics are introduced for discussion and taken up with at length, and an imaginative story is told by an interlocutor to help illustrate his point. But the rustic re-casting of these convivial talks recalls Cicero’s idealized picture at *Sen.* 46 of the Elder Cato hosting neighbors at his Sabine farm, and engaging them in serious discussion late into the night. Armstrong 2016: 206 points out that the Sabine feast, as H. imagines it here, captures Epicurean theories of friendship “in an artificially pure form,” putting emphasis not on the pleasures of food, or the political importance of his guests, but on the pursuit of friendship as a source of affection and intimacy, realized through meaningful conversations that are their own deeper source of pleasure.

71 uillis domibusue alienis “other people’s villas or homes.” Though much deplored by moralists, luxurious building was an extremely competitive social necessity in ancient Rome, rather than a senseless waste; see Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 4–8. The so-called “Gardens of Maecenas” on the Esquiline hill were perhaps the most conspicuous new mansion of the period; see 3.312 n. For the massive increase in the luxury and expense of central Italian villas over time, and their transformation from productive farms to showpieces designed for *otium* and conspicuous display, see Marzano 2007: 82–101.

72 Lepos was apparently a pantomime dancer of the period. His name touches on the “Grace” with which he performed.

72–3 quod magis ad nos | pertinet “what is more relevant to ourselves/to myself,” i.e. contrasting the vain discussion of houses and villas that belong to “others” in line 71.

73 *agitamus* introduces the three indirect questions that follow (see next n.). The iterative form emphasizes the back-and-forth activity of a lively conversation.

74–6 Each line poses a separate topic of philosophical discussion. The questions posed, some of the biggest and most basic of ancient philosophy, were much discussed in all of the major philosophical schools, and each had its own orthodox answer according to the school. As H. indicates in lines 72–3 (see n.), the peculiar nexus of questions posed are all personally relevant to himself at this point in his life, as a newly enriched, and yet not quite secure or happy, friend of Maecenas.

75 *usus* “personal advantage.” While subscribing to the idea that friendship begins as a calculation of one’s own personal interest, Epicureans regarded friendship as one of life’s highest aspirations, and an unparalleled source of pleasure; see Armstrong 2016.

76 *eius*: the genitive of the pronoun *is* was apparently regarded as prosaic and/or uncouth by late Triumviral and Augustan poets, who avoided it quite strongly; see Axelson 71–2. Virgil never uses it, and it occurs only once in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. Here the effect is decidedly Lucretian – Lucretius, who delivers his radical message in an old-fashioned and “pious” Roman style, uses the form thirty-five times, most often (as here) at the line-end, e.g. 3.328 *haud facile est, quin intereat natura quoque eius*.

77 *Cervius* is a made-up name, suggestive of old age. For reasons unknown, deer were thought to live extremely long lives; see Cucchiarelli *ad Virg. Ecl.* 7.30 and Courtney *ad Juv.* 14.251. *haec inter*: see 59 n. above.

77–8 *garrit aniles | ex re fabellas* “prattles off silly old wives’ tales that are to the point.” The admiring complaint (both the verb and the diminutive noun are dismissive, suggestive of annoyance) establishes Cervius as a Socrates figure; see Massaro 1977; cf. Plat. *Symp.* 221e where Alcibiades remarks on his amazement that Socrates’ talk is of “asses, smiths, cobblers and tanners,” but conveys insights of profound worth; also Plat. *Grg.* 527a where Socrates speculates that his tough-minded interlocutor, Callicles, will regard the myth that he has told (523a–524a) as an old wives’ tale, and despise it. For the idea that Cervius’ fable serves the function of a Platonic myth, see Bond 1985: 85 and (with specific ref. to Plato’s *Gorgias*) Graverini 2006: 95–6; cf. Apul. *Met.* 4.27 *anilibusque fabulis* referring to the tale of Cupid and Psyche, which many consider a Platonic myth.

78 *Arelli*: a landowner, whose substantial wealth has brought him more worry than happiness. As with Cervius above (see prev. n.), the name hints at the man’s character, i.e. a “shriveled” miser; see *OLD aridus* 7.

79–117 The fable of the Town Mouse and Country Mouse (see poem intro. above).

79 olim “once upon a time,” a typical beginning of fables and folk tales; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.73–4.

80–1 rusticus urbanum: the side-by-side pairing of opposed adjectives immediately establishes the dispositions of the two mice as irreconcilable, while emphasizing their inseparability. In the studied verbal repetitions that follow (instances of polyptoton), the repeated words are again set side by side (*murem mus ... ueterem uetus*) to emphasize the closeness of the two mice as an inseparable pair. Wills 205–6 points out that verbal repetitions of this particular type are “appropriate for illustrating relationships of equality” (commonly *frater fratri* and *amicus amico*; see his extended list of examples), and he suggests that the rare double use of the device here “may reflect Homeric gift-giving” such as one sees at *Od.* 1.313 “such as strangers give to one another, friend to friend” (οἷα φίλοι ξείνοι ξείνοισι δίδουσι). Further on the tone of the device as “mock-heroic,” see West 1974: 70. **paupere ... accepisse cauo** “to have hosted in his dirt-poor hole.” The phrase brings to mind mythological tales of impoverished rustics hosting heroes and gods in their huts; see above 65 n.

82 asper “rough” implies both morally “austere” and physically “unkempt.” **attentus** governs the dative *quaesitis*: “with a keen eye on his savings,” i.e. “frugal”; see *OLD attentus* 3. **ut tamen** introduces a limit to what has just been said about the mouse’s frugality: “and yet (his frugality was such) that he would loosen his tight disposition when entertaining guests.” For the usage, see *OLD tamen* 5a.

82–3 artum “penny-pinching,” see *OLD artus* 5, where the meaning “parsimonious” is based solely on this passage. In fact, the mouse’s heart/mind is being likened to a purse that he keeps “tightly bound” (*OLD* s.v. 1) but “loosens” (*solueret*) for guests; see Fedeli *ad loc.*

84 sepositi “choice” or “select” marks the chickpea as an exceptionally fine specimen that the mouse has set aside for a special occasion. **inuidit** here takes a gen. of the thing begrudged, rather than an acc., dat., or abl.; see *OLD inuideo* 2 for the verb’s many syntactical construals, with 2d marking the exceptional syntax of this passage. Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.3.1) found the usage extremely odd (Mayer 1999: 162 claims that it “stuck in his mind as a freak”), and he explained it as an experimental borrowing from Greek. Further on the usage as highly unusual, see *OLS* 117. **longae:** the oat is designated as “long” either because its stalk was notably “tall” or because its seeds were “long-grained.” For *longus* designating plant varieties, see *OLD longus* 1c.

85 semesaque: the designation indicates either that the bits of bacon were found “half-eaten” in the farmer’s cupboard or kitchen (i.e. already half-eaten by the farmer), or that the thrifty mouse recycles them as leftovers, having already served the bacon at an earlier *cena* of nibbling mice.

In either case, the meal's *pièce de résistance* consists of items left over from an earlier meal. On mice as scroungers who feast on other people's food, see Plaut. *Capt.* 77. On serving leftovers as a sign of penny-pinching, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 34.1.

86 uaria: the meal is a mix of legumes, grain, fruit and meat. There is a humorous discrepancy between the meal's morally upright and utterly wholesome foodstuffs, and its designation as "varied," a term that carries strong connotations of luxury and over-indulgence; see 2.71 n., the intro. essay of poem 8 below, and cf. Val. Max. 9.1.1 on the outrageous *uarietas mensae* of Sergius Orata. On *uariatio* as both a stylistic and culinary principle that informs H.'s theorization of satire, see Gowers 1993: 153–5, and the poem intro. above. **fastidia** "disgust" here refers not to revulsion, as if the foods served were somehow repellent in themselves, but to the off-putting lack of interest that arises from *satietas*, i.e. in being always served the same old thing; see Kaster 2005: 107–8, and cf. Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.29 where orators who use the same devices in every case "arouse disgust like that of a cold serving of leftovers," and 1.12.5, where Quintilian claims that a student will be refreshed by a change in his lessons: "just as with foods, the stomach is restored by diversity and receives more nourishment with less tedium/disgust."

87 male "barely" (*OLD* s.v. 5).

88 pater ipse domus: the pomposity of the phrase (emphasized via the alliteration with *palea porrectus*) is humorously mismatched to the fact that the *domus* in question is a hole, the country mouse has no *familia* and the dining couch that he reclines on to show off his elevated status as "master of his domain" is a mere tuft of fresh hay. **porrectus in** "splayed out over." Outside of this poem, the construction is never used to describe diners reclining on couches. West 1974: 73–4 explains its use here and in line 106 below as a concession to the anatomy of mice, i.e. he splayed himself "forward" (*porrigere* = *pro* + *regere*) on all fours, as mice do.

horna: the country mouse has gone to the trouble of using fresh hay in order to impress his friend. Like the food he serves and the hole he lives in, even the bed he reclines on has been stolen from the farmer.

89 esset: impf. subjunctive of *edo*. **ador** "emmer" (*triticum dicoccum*, still grown in Italy as "farro medio") refers to an ancient variety of wheat, now highly prized as a health food. As a type of "hulled wheat," the glumes or "chaff" around the ripe emmer seed could not be removed by ancient methods of threshing (though they can be removed by modern hulling machines). As a result, and given the variety's low levels of gluten, emmer bread, as the Romans knew it, was heavy and coarse – considerably more so than *triticum spelta* "spelt." Further on ancient wheat varieties, see Shewry and Hey 2015. **loliumque** "darnel" (*lolium temulentum*) is a type of weed that thrives in wheat fields. Sometimes called "false wheat," it is hard to

distinguish from wheat while growing, and hard to separate from it when the grain is harvested (= the “tares” of Matthew 13:24–30; see Musselman 2000). Though regarded as inedible to humans, Col. 8.4.1 and 8.8.6 recommends it as food for birds, and both Celsus and Pliny call for “darnel flour” in a number of medicinal remedies, e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 22.160, referring to Virgil’s reference to *lolium* as “sterile” (*infelix*) at G. 1.154.

91–2 The lines strongly recall Archilochus fr. 21 West (= Plut. *de exilio* 12.604c), where the poet disparages the island of Thasos for being “rugged and jagged” (τραχύ καὶ ἀνώμαλον) by saying:

ἦδε δ' ὥστ' ὄνου ῥάχῃς
ἔστηκεν ὕλης ἀγρίης ἐπιστεφής

This island is like an ass’s *backbone*,
covered by a *wild forest*.

cf. the matching disposition of words in the town mouse’s disparagement of the country mouse’s backwater home (an Archilochean insult):

... patientem uiuere *dorso*
uis tu homines urbemque *feris* praeponere *siluis*?

91 praerupti nemoris “steep/rugged wood.” The phrase *nemoris ... dorso* is adapted from Virg. G. 3.436 (it is unlikely that Virgil has adapted it from here), where the poet concludes his eerie description of venomous snakes “leaping up” out of the bogs into the parched fields of Calabria (*exsilit in siccum*, 433) by voicing his wish: “may I never gather in soft slumber (*mollis ... carpere somnos*, 435) under an open sky at that time of the year, and may I never lie on the grass of a wooded ridge” (*neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas*, 436). Thomas notes *ad loc.* that the dystopian realities of this passage are set in contrast to the idealization of the countryside that one finds near the end of the previous book, i.e. the very lines that inform H.’s starry-eyed idealization of his farm in the verses above (see 60–7 and 62 nn.). **patientem uiuere**: suggests that the mouse “puts up with” or “suffers through” his life in the country.

92 uis tu “why don’t you?” The question is equivalent to an exhortation; cf. Petr. 111.12, where the handsome soldier urges the grieving widow to have sex with him by saying “*uis tu reuiuiscere?*” (“why not start life afresh?”). Adams 1999: 108–9 (see esp. n. 10) points out that the pronoun *tu* in the case of this particular idiom is not emphatic, but serves to sharpen the focused character of the verb, “much as if the emphasizing particle *quidem* had been tacked on instead” (p. 108). **homines**: a metaphor for “civilization” (Muecke), or the “social life” of the city (trans. Rudd). But since the speaker is a mouse, speaking to another mouse, the

word's most basic sense is humorously in play as well, i.e. the city mouse is urging his friend to go where "humans" live.

93–7 The city mouse attempts to dazzle his unsophisticated friend by regaling him with a series of high-sounding commonplaces on life's brevity, and the need to make the most of it while you can. His *paraenesis* is formulated from the stock clichés of sympotic poetry that date back at least to the seventh century BCE (e.g. Alcaeus fr. 38A Campbell), and that are best instanced in Latin by H.'s own *carpe diem* ode, *Carm.* 1.11 (see N–H *ad loc.*, and next n.). Here the trite sentiments are dressed up as deep philosophical insights, passed on to an easily dazzled friend by a mouse wise in the ways of Roman high society. His high-sounding words amount to a caricature of serious Epicurean philosophy, putting emphasis solidly on the pleasures of fashionable partying as the *summum bonum* of a meaningful life. For his own part, the country mouse's austere but self-sufficient lifestyle, coupled with the high value he puts on hospitality and friendship, and his commitment to his own security (see 117 n.), all suggest that he, too, can be read as a caricature of a committed Epicurean, who pursues his own way of being an Epicurean toward an opposite extreme; cf. Ofellus and Catus as Epicurean opposites in poems 2 and 4 above.

93 *carpe uiam* "press on along the road" (*OLD carpo* 8a). A "plucking" or "harvesting" metaphor informs the common phrase, with the road or journey imagined as a field that one "mows one's way through" or a fruit-laden tree that one gradually picks clean. In the famous *carpe diem* expression of *Carm.* 1.11 (a sonic match for *carpe uiam*, and perhaps a play upon it) the thing that needs to be harvested (not "seized") is "the daylight" or "time" itself. In both cases, the process implied is gradual rather than instantaneous. Further on the semantics of *carpere*, see Traina 1973 and Horsfall *ad Virg. Aen.* 6.629 (the Sibyl to Aeneas *sed iam age, carpe uiam*. For the possibility that H. alludes to his lyric aspirations in these lines, see Hooley 1997: 110 ("fine self-parody"), Cucchiarelli 2001: 165, n.177 ("un' allusione, nella riscrittura parodistica, ad un' ode forse già composta?"), and Freudenburg 2006: 167. **terrestria** "creatures of earth" implies "of this mortal world" for a man (*OLD* s.v.3), but for a mouse it also implies literally "living on the ground" (*OLD* s.v.2). Further on the humorous ambivalence, see next n.

95 *magno aut paruo*: the old cliché observing that death cuts down all, making no distinction between great and small, acquires a humorous new ambivalence ("philosophically applicable to man, and literally true of mice," West 1974: 75) when spoken by a mouse. The same can be said of *terrestria* in line 93 and *aeui brevis* in 97 (see nn.). **quo, bone, circa**: West 1974: 74–5 points out that "this is the only passage in Latin literature where *quocirca* is separated into two words, with an insertion between

them. Such tmesis is a notorious feature of the elevated style of Ennius and is common in the didactic epic of Lucretius”; see 3.117–18 n.

96 in rebus iucundis uiue beatus “live happily, in circumstances that are pleasant.” The invitation seems innocent enough, but the same words (given the more sensory and material possibilities of *res*, *iucundus* and *beatus*) can also be taken as an invitation to indulge oneself in hedonistic pleasures: “live life rich, surrounded by pleasurable/delicious things.” The town mouse has crafted his words in a way that makes them superficially respectable, but hints at naughtier possibilities, as if to say “live ‘happily’, if you follow my drift ... (wink).” In his sustained imitation of these lines at Pers. 5.151–3, Persius assigns the *paraenesis* (similarly loaded with clichés) to Luxuria herself. Hooley 1997: 110 notes that Luxury does not just quote Horace to season her enticements, she quotes “his troublemaking city mouse” in a way that captures H.’s own sense of play.

97 aeuī breuis: the commonplace “life is short” is an especially literal truth for a mouse, for whom life is fully lived in five to six months. **haec ubi dicta** is a formula of epic narrative that marks a transition from speech to action; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.32 and (with remarkable relevance to this passage) 6.628–9 *haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeua sacerdos* | “*sed iam age, carpe uiam.*” Elsewhere the formula occurs always at the beginning of the hexameter line rather than at the end. Given such strong epic associations (cf. also 98–9 below, see n., and the monstrously large dogs of the poem’s end), it is possible that a mock *katabasis* (based on a work now lost to us, but known to both H. and Virgil) is implicit in the nocturnal sojourn of these mice.

98 pepulere “propelled” in the sense of “set in motion.” **leuis** “light” (a quality esp. true of a mouse), here in the sense of “nimble” or “just like that.” But the adjective also refers to the *leuitas* “fickleness” that the mouse exhibits at this crucial moment when he so suddenly and radically changes his mind.

99 ambo propositum peragunt iter “together they traverse/complete the journey they had proposed.” The closest parallel is Virg. *Aen.* 6.384, referring to the Sibyl and Aeneas as they reach the banks of the river Styx: *iter inceptum peragunt*. West 1974: 76 suggests that the words bring to mind an epic scenario, such as that of Diomedes and Odysseus setting out through the dark night in the *Doloneia* episode of *Iliad* 10, or of Nisus and Euryalus in *Aeneid* 10; cf. Commager 1962: 121: “behind the mice’s outing loom such heroic expeditions as that of Diomedes and Odysseus.” Whether theirs is a *katabasis* or nocturnal raid, the two mice are imagined as a mock-epic pair.

100 subrepere “creep up below” suggests the stealth of warriors on a night raid as they crawl toward an enemy target on all fours. Being mice,

it is in their nature to creep along on all fours. **tenebat**: *OLD* s.v. 5a “to reach in journeying.”

100–1 iamque tenebat | Nox medium caeli spatium: “and by now Night was reaching the middle of heaven’s course.” As in line 26 above (see n.), a chariot-driving metaphor is in play that finds a personified “Night” driving along a heavenly “course” or “race track” (*OLD spatium* 1). As a parody of epic periphrases that describe the passing of time, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.535–6, and see Gowers *ad* 1.5.9–10.

101–2 ponit ... in ... uestigia “plant their feet inside” (*OLD uestigium* 3); cf. Cic. *Fin.* 5.5 *quacumque enim ingredimur, in aliqua historia uestigium ponimus*, and Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.21 (imitating Lucr. 3.3–4) *libera per uacuum posui uestigia princeps*. Further on the metaphor, see Fedeli 2005: 302.

102 cocco “berry” refers to the dye that was made from it (metonymy). The “berry” in question is actually a female shield louse or kermes (*coccus ilicis*). When pregnant, the tiny round insect attaches her body to the leaves of holm oak trees and forms a hard outer shell of deep crimson. The insect’s berry-like body was harvested and processed to produce a scarlet dye. Further on the use of insect dyes in Rome, see Leggett 2009: 59–74.

103–4 The magnificence of the scene that the mice come upon in the dining hall is reflected in the elaborately interlocked word order (a “near-golden” line, followed by a golden line; see Courtney 2013a: 154), the stately “Catullan molossus” in line 103 (on which, see 4.80–2 n.), and the agreement of ictus and accent in the final three feet of both lines. The color contrast of deep crimson set against ivory was particularly favored by neoteric poets, and derives ultimately from the famous “dyed cheekpiece” simile of Hom. *Il.* 4.141–7; see Sfyroeras 2014, and cf. esp. the ivory couch of Catul. 64.48–9, where one sees the same elaborately interlocked word order, the “Catullan molossus,” and the agreement of ictus and accent in the final three feet.

103 canderet “gleamed” or “shone bright.” The verb puts a spotlight on the crimson *uestis* “coverlet” (see 106 n.) as the thing that first catches and dazzles the eyes of the mice. At Catul. 64.45 it is the ivory thrones that are said to “shine bright”: *candet ebur soliis collucent pocula mensae*.

104 magna ... cena perhaps hints at *Mae-cenas*. **superessent** suggests that the dining room is to be imagined as a battleground, where some dishes “still survived” (*OLD* s.v. 5a) in the aftermath of a great battle that has recently taken place, i.e. the previous evening’s *cena*. But the same word also implies that what so dazzles these mice, and what gives them to think of this meal in such wondrous terms, is the prospect of eating “left-overs” (*OLD* s.v. 4). **fercula** “dishes” in the sense of “courses of food”; see *OLD* s.v. 2, and cf. above 86 n., quoting Val. Max. 9.1.1.

105 procul: from the point of view of the mice, the dishes that catch their attention are “far off” in the distance and stacked very high. **exstruc-tis** “piled high” is often used of tables heaped with foods (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 11.119–20), but here the epithet has been transferred to the serving baskets that contain the leftovers – perhaps to liken them to fallen soldiers piled in heaps (some of whom still “survive,” see prev. n.); cf. Cic. *Sest.* 77 *caedem uero tantam, tantos acervos corporum exstructos*.

106–11 The regal splendor that is being relished by the mice is underscored by the stately and somewhat cloying metrical scheme of the lines. Five of the six lines feature a molossus after a strong caesura in the third foot (the so-called “Catullan molossus,” see nn. at 103–4 and 4.80–2 above), and the first five lines exhibit the complete agreement of ictus and accent in the last three feet – a pattern that suddenly breaks with the jangling phrase *cum subito ingens* and the arrival of the Molossian dogs. For a similar cloying metrical cluster (marking “the bore” as an assiduous neoteric) see 1.9.57–9.

106 porrectum in: see above 88 n. **ueste** refers to the “coverlet” that was used to protect the mattress of the dining couch; see above 103 n., and cf. Lucr. 2.35–6 contrasting “the commoner’s mattress cover” (*plebeia ueste*) to coverlets embroidered in crimson and purple, and the embroidered purple coverlets of Dido’s banquet at *Aen.* 1.639. **locauit** “situated” or “settled”; cf. Dido taking center stage at her own banquet at *Aen.* 1.698 *mediamque locauit*, and Evander “placing” Aeneas on a mattress of leaves covered by a bearskin at *Aen.* 8.367 *Aenean duxit stratisque locauit*.

107 ueluti succinctus “like a waiter in a short jacket” (trans. Rudd). The tunic was girded up high to allow for rapid movement; cf. *alte succinctus* at 8.10 below (see n.). **cursitat** “bustle” or “scurry about.” As a word describing slaves waiting on tables, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.9–10.

108 continuatque dapes “keeps the delicacies coming,” i.e. in an unbroken line, one after the other. **uerniliter** and *ipsis* are to be taken closely together: “nor did he neglect to fulfill the actual/specific duties (sc. of a slave) in the manner of a home-born slave.” SB follows Lambinus in emending *ipsis* to *ipse*, which makes excellent sense (“he himself acting the slave’s part”). **uerniliter:** see next n.

109 praelambens “by taking a first lick” is epexegetic, in that it explains the claim just made about how the town mouse fulfills his tasks in a slave-like manner. Whether the adverb *uerniliter* means “like an incorrigible home-born slave” or “like a dutiful home-born slave” (for both senses, cf. above 66 n.) depends on how one conceives the activity implied by *praelambens*, a verb that occurs nowhere else in Latin literature. On the one hand, it may be taken as a reference to naughty slaves snitching foods from the trays they serve, as at 4.79 above (see n.) and Lucil. fr. 629W = 585M.

On the other, it may refer (in an extremely funny way) to the practice of putting a slave *praegustator* in charge of tasting foods ahead of time to guard against poisoning (“the very latest thing in *haute cuisine*,” West 1974: 73). Scholars have long been divided over which sense is in play here, but it seems that H. has invented the word to hint at both possibilities at the same time: elsewhere slaves are said to “lick” the plates and/or foods that they serve when taking snitches of them, but they do not “*præ*-lick” them. Similarly, those who “pre-taste” foods always *prae-gustare*, never *prae-lambere*. Put together as it is, the participle allows the mouse to occupy the roles of incorrigible “snitcher” and dutiful “pre-taster” at the same time.

111 *agit* “plays the part of” (*OLD* s.v. 25b). *laetum* takes an abl. to fulfill its sense (*OLD* s.v. 4): “delighting in good things,” i.e. “luxuries” or “creature comforts”; cf. *bonis rebus* in this sense at Var. *Men.* 2.12 and Lucr. 3.1003–4.

111–12 *ingens* | *ualuarum strepitus* captures the experience of the mice, for whom a creak of the folding doors registers as a massive boom, as if the city walls were being crashed through by invaders; cf. [Virg.] *Aetna* 500–1, describing a volcanic eruption: *effumat moles atque ... uoluitur ingenti strepitu*. Fedeli *ad loc.* notes strong verbal and thematic parallels between these lines and Prop. 4.8.49, where Cynthia suddenly arrives to put a stop to Propertius’ dalliances with other women: *cum subito rauci sonuerunt cardine postes*. He suggests that both authors are independently parodying some lost epic model.

113–14 The historical infinitives *currere* and *trepidare* capture the chaos of the situation, and the sudden panic of the mice as they scramble for safety. Sallust was esp. fond of using the device in this way, and it may be that his techniques are being parodied here; cf. *Jug.* 12.5. Further on Sallust’s use of the historical infinitive to give flash pictures of panic and horror, see Kraus 2011: 413.

114–15 Molossian dogs (bred by the Molossi, in Epirus) were highly prized by farmers, shepherds, and hunters. In the city they were used as guard dogs; see Mynors *ad Virg. G.* 3.405 *acremque Molossium*. Lucr. 5.1063–72 comments on how the sounds they made ranged from thunderous barks (1066) to submissive whimpers (1072), and at *Epod.* 6.5–10 H. compares his anonymous enemy to a pampered Molossian dog who makes a great show of barking loudly in the hopes of having scraps tossed his way as a reward. Here the dogs’ thunderous howls are to be imagined reaching the rafters (*domus alta ... personuit*).

117 *tutus ab insidiis* “safe from treacherous attacks.” Following Muecke *ad loc.*, Armstrong 2016: 207 takes this as a reference to Epicurean ἀσφάλεια (“security”). *tenui solabitur eruo* “will console me [i.e. assuage

my hunger] with thin vetch.” Fed on “thin vetch,” the mouse will (or so he thinks) be safe, but he will be very thin indeed. His words reprise the lament of Damoetas at Virg. *Ecl.* 3.100, complaining that his bull pastures in “fat vetch” but remains emaciated: *heu, heu! quam pingui macer est mihi taurus in eruol*; cf. also the “thin oat stalk” *tenui ... auena* of *Ecl.* 1.2 (generally considered a symbol of Callimachean refinement; see Cucchiarelli *ad loc.*), and the “thin vetch” of Virg. *G.* 1.75 *tenuis fetus uiciae*. Bitter vetch (ἐρέβινθος, *eruum*) was grown as animal fodder, not a terribly good one, and the seeds were fed to birds. In his treatise *De alimentorum facultatibus* (K. 547) Galen writes that “cattle eat bitter vetch which has first been sweetened with water, but people absolutely avoid this seed; for it is distasteful and produces unhealthy humour” (trans. Powell 2003: 66); cf. Ath. 9.699c where vetch is opposed to lentils as food grown for cattle versus food grown for humans. In other words, like *lolium* “darnel” in line 89 above (see n.), vetch is not a “food” where humans are concerned, and that is part of the point being made by the mouse. As if to provide the moral to his own tale, the rustic mouse voices his determination to have nothing more to do with the fancy “people food” of the city by limiting himself to a food that no human would eat, but that suits him well enough *as a mouse*. In other words, this is a tale that touches on not only the dangers that attend high living, but the hazards of not knowing oneself, and of reaching beyond one’s station. The lesson learned by the mouse, as indicated by his reference to “thin vetch,” is essentially that of *S.* 1.6, where H. makes his point about needing to keep out of Roman politics as a freedman’s son who lost everything at Philippi, but who now knows his place, by describing the unhurried schedule that he keeps, and the simple, vegetarian diet he adheres to. The symbolism equating thin animals to thin ambitions is strong in the country mouse’s parting words, and (as Fedeli points out *ad loc.*) his reference to *tenue eruum* recalls H.’s determination to feed his animals fat, but remain “thin” in his talent, in lines 14–15.

SATIRE 7

The satire opens *in mediis rebus*, with a conversation that is just getting underway. From the overheard back-and-forth of the first five lines, clues rapidly emerge to tell us who is speaking to whom (Davus, a slave, to H., his master), when (during the Saturnalia), and why (because Davus has things that he has long wanted to say to H., but only now has the ‘Saturnalian license’ to say them). The poem’s first words *iamdudum ausculto* establish a New Comic setting for the poem, putting Davus in the role of the busybody slave who listens in on his master’s conversations

(see 1–2 n.). But these words also raise the question of what Davus has “for some time now” been listening to. The rambling moral sermon that he launches into suggests that the satires themselves have caught his ear; that he has been listening to H., the satirist, preach against greed, luxury, lust and so on (see 9, 89, 116 nn.).²³ For his part, now that he has come upon his annual brief moment to speak his mind, Davus is having none of it. Like Juvenal in the opening lines of his first satire (*semper ego auditor tantum* “am I always to be just a listener?!”), Davus has had his fill of listening, and he is determined finally to have his say. Privy to his master’s secrets, Davus knows that H. is much less committed to clean and simple living than he lets on, and as an ardent convert to Stoicism (cf. Damasippus in the book’s third satire), he thinks that he has his own better and more orthodox way of defining and deploring vice, and of prescribing punishments for its correction. Not only is H. exposed as a hypocrite by his eavesdropping slave (on the reliability of Davus’ claims, see below), he is treated to a dose of his own medicine in this poem, forced to listen to his old lessons repurposed by his slave, and returned to one of their principal sources, as popular Stoic preaching.

The fifth Stoic paradox asserts that “only the wise man is free, and every fool is a slave” (Cic. *Parad.* 33–41). This is the main lesson that Davus drives home throughout the poem, insisting that true freedom is not a matter of one’s legal status, but a condition of the soul (see esp. 2–3 n.). In H., Davus sees a man who, though technically his master, is more truly a slave than he himself is, because he lacks self-mastery, a “slave” to his desires. The sermonizer who cuts such a steady and morally wise figure in his satires Davus knows as a man who is irresolute (lacking *constantia*, see 6–7, 18, 26–7, 29, 89–92, 111–15 nn.), driven about by his desires for luxurious living, fame and risky sex. Near the end of S. 1.6 H. had described the routines of his life in the city, specifying that he capped off each day with a simple vegetarian meal enjoyed at home, then headed off to bed “unworried” (*non sollicitus*, 119) about duties needing to be done the next day. Davus knows better. In line 30 he says that though H. may claim to be content with simple and “worry-free” vegetarian dinners at home (*securum holus*), when a last-minute summons arrives from Maecenas, inviting him to dine in high style, he changes his tune and goes flying from the house, barking orders and exploding with rage, the very

²³ Evans 1978: 309–10 reviews a wide range of proposals made by scholars to explain what Davus has been listening to. Taking a new tack, he concludes: “Davus, having listened to Horace sermonize for a long period ... now has his chance to play satirist and proceeds to deliver his own diatribe.”

picture of frenzy and panicked distress. In *S.* 1.2, citing Philodemus as his authority (1.2.121), H. claimed to have no interest in engaging in illicit affairs with matrons, preferring sex that was worry-free, with freedwomen, or with whatever slave happened to be available. But Davus knows better: he has seen H. slip out at night, disguised in a hooded cloak, driven by lust, in pursuit of illicit affairs that cause his bones to shake with fear (57). In calling his master out on the matter, Davus alludes to the very poem of Philodemus that H. had used to support his cause in 1.2 (see Gowers *ad* 120–2), but in Davus’ reprise of the poem H. has come to occupy the role that he had once so famously scorned: that of the emotionally distressed and big-spending adulterer whom Philodemus derided (see 89 n.).

The axiom equating fools to slaves was old and well worn (see Hunt 2011: 44–5). As Lejay points out (p. 539), it can be traced back to Diogenes through Zeno as a commonplace of both the Cynic and Stoic traditions. In his satire “The Sale of Diogenes” Menippus gave the theme a new twist by letting a slave (in this case, Diogenes on the auction block, being sold as a slave) have his say on the matter of his being “owned” by men who were themselves in need of a master (Diog. Laert. 6.29–30). This satire develops the same conceit, but the slave who is given his say in this case is no Diogenes, grizzled and sharp as a tack, but a figure of the comic stage: a meddlesome loafer who spends more time spying on his master than he does working (for suggestions of Davus’ incompetence as a slave, see 3–4, 43 nn.). The lessons he preaches have been picked up second-hand, learned from a fellow slave, the door-keeper of Crispinus, a windbag Stoic preacher, much pilloried in book one (see 45 n.). His is a comically personalized and limited “slave’s take” on the Stoic ideas that he is attempting to preach (72–4, 83, 85, 95–101, 111–15 nn.), and his way of assigning value to things in the world is conditioned by his lot in life.

There are many ways in which this poem “repeats *Sat.* 2.3 in miniature” (Muecke, p. 212; cf. Palmer p. 356: “this satire is a companion to the third of the second book”). Both poems are set during the Saturnalia. Both feature a Stoic zealot letting loose against H., using lessons learned from others. Both end abruptly, with the poet putting an end to a tirade that shows no sign of ending. Such obvious commonalities make the differences between the poems stand out all the more. While the bulk of 2.3 consists of stock themes addressing no one in particular, with lessons specifically targeting H. featured at the beginning and end, in this poem H. is the target of his Stoic accuser’s assault from beginning to end. As pointed out above (see the introduction to the third satire), the biggest difference that separates Davus’ Stoic scolding of H. from its counterpart in 2.3 is to be seen in the way Davus imagines his surroundings in comic terms rather than tragic ones. Whereas in 2.3 the bankrupt man of high birth takes his

second-hand lessons from a prolific Stoic writer, and he illustrates those lessons through higher forms of fiction, where kings and epic heroes take center stage, in 2.7 the slave takes his second-hand lessons from a fellow slave, and to illustrate those lessons he patterns them after the fictions of comedy and mime, i.e. forms that he, as a slave, can relate to, and take meaning from, because slaves (many of them named Davus) were stars of those shows. Everything in his world Davus sees through the lens of fiction, as if all the world were, in fact, a comic play (15, 38, 43, 56, 91 nn.). Although the Stoics of 2.3 and 2.7 preach many of the same lessons, they develop those lessons from radically different cultural (*qua* generic) perspectives.

Throughout the poem, H. can be spied inhabiting a comic role of his own: that of the hotheaded master who is prone to browbeating and barking threats at a troublesome slave (2, 22, 44). In the poem's last lines H.'s failure of self-mastery, the very charge that Davus has leveled against him from the start, is put on vivid display, as he calls for weapons to hurl at Davus, then threatens to reduce him to a "work unit" on his Sabine farm (a threat typical of comic bullies, see 118 n.). This loss of composure, once again, makes H. the butt of his own joke by putting him squarely in the role of the exploding false-*sapiens* whom he gleefully derided at the end of *S.* 1.3 (see 116 n.). Goaded by his slave, H., as a satirist character in the poem, is clearly upset at having his hypocrisies exposed. But it cannot be known whether any of the vices and personal shortcomings that Davus exposes have anything to do with the "real H." who lurks behind the respectable moral façade of the *Sermones*. The reality that Davus gives us to see behind that façade proves to be just as much a fiction as the façade itself. Even if one does choose to credit the accusation that H. had affairs with married women, one is hard-pressed to believe that he actually wore a mime actor's hooded cloak and paced in front of his lover's door, to be doused by water dumped from a second-story window. The comic patterning is obvious and rather too good to be true (see 89–92 n.). At best, the hidden life of the poet that Davus exposes in the poem is fictionalized: a life staged as so many scenes of comedy and mime.

What, then, does it mean for H. to be caught out in his hypocrisies by his slave in this poem? In his introduction to the satire, Palmer suggested that Davus' criticisms of H. must be thought of as hitting their mark: "Horace felt his slave's censure was just, and that he was a slave, and knew it" (p. 356). K–H, on the other hand, argued that the moral flaws censured by Davus are those demanded by the form of censure that Davus has only recently learned, and that Davus misapplies them to H. himself (K–H p. 318–19). Seconding this idea, Evans 1978: 311 took the slave's flawed attempt to function as a satirist in this poem as H.'s own

farewell to the genre: "by presenting what is largely a misdirected sermon on well worn themes near the end of his second book Horace shows us satire which has outgrown itself, becoming little more than a comic dialogue." Taken this way, Davus' accusations have a metalinguistic function, but bear no moral sting. Their flying wide of the mark is the main thing to be observed about them.

But there are other ways to think about how such "off the mark" accusations might be thought to do satiric work and deliver a moral sting, not in spite of their being wildly flung, but because of it. For example, in the story that Davus tells about H. bolting from the house after receiving a last-minute dinner invitation from Maecenas, the specific wording of his description makes clear that Davus regards his master not as a "friend" of Maecenas but his "slave," or at best his comical parasite, who can be sent into a flailing panic at a moment's notice by being "ordered" to appear at his patron's house as a last-minute afterthought (see 32–3 n.). Oliensis 1998: 186–7 construes the "indecent haste" with which H. speeds off as a compliment to Maecenas that puts his eagerness to please his patron on vivid display (albeit at some cost to his dignity). That Maecenas is always there, taking in what is being said by the poet as the book's most important "overreader," is a crucial insight of Oliensis' work. That said, there are other ways that one can imagine Maecenas reacting to the scene of his poet's eagerness to debase himself. On p. 55 Oliensis points out (citing Bernstein 1992: 45–7) that Davus' accusation in line 82 that H. resembles a wooden puppet moved by strings pulled by others "seems designed to illustrate Horace's 'enslavement' not to sexual desire (Davus' ostensible subject here) but to Maecenas." The question this raises is: is such an observation to be taken as just another instance of Davus' limited "slave's way" of seeing things, all conditioned by the reality that defines his own life, once again enforcing his point that he and H. are both slaves? Or is it perhaps (also) a keen satiric observation that cuts into the way things really (or perhaps "sometimes sort of") were between H. and Maecenas? And would Maecenas, as a reader of the poem, necessarily be only flattered by having his relation to one of his star poets exposed in that way? Or does this flattery come with a sting in its tail? And what about other overreading poets, such as Virgil, Viscus and Varius? How would they react to seeing their fellow poet pulled about by Maecenas' strings? Would they see anything of themselves (their ambitions, their eagerness to please, etc.) "implied" by the image of H. desperately racing off to please the patron whom they all shared?

Taken for what it implies, the tale that Davus tells of his master's frenzied and hypocritical life in this poem lends itself to being read as the story of what H. has become in trying to keep up with, and please, Maecenas. No longer his old self, he is a "would-be" version of his luxury-loving patron,

in pathetic miniature. It is this charge that sends H. over the edge at the end of 2.3, written into the fable of the frogs, and it is implied by the town mouse country mouse fable of 2.6, evinced by the eagerness with which the bumpkin mouse “leaps” at the chance to be made over by his friend as his mirror image: reclining on purple cloth, feasting on fine foods, and so on. But it is precisely here, in the idea that H. is a would-be Maecenas, that the accusations leveled by Davus begin to seem considerably less “off the mark.” As he is known from elsewhere in the *Sermones*, H. was no party-goer or connoisseur of fine foods and wines. But Maecenas was, notoriously so (see the poem introduction to 2.8 below). Similarly, while the H. of 1.2 famously eschewed sexual affairs with married women, Maecenas famously pursued them. In a letter sent to him by Augustus, the emperor pokes fun at Maecenas’ enthusiasm for expensive gems, and he refers to him as “the adulteresses’ softy” (*malaga moecharum*, Macr. *Sat.* 2.4.12), i.e. putty in their hands. Plutarch *Mor.* 759f–60a tells the story of a host pretending to fall asleep at his own dinner party so that Maecenas could have his way with his wife.²⁴ If Seneca can be believed (*Ep.* 114.6), Maecenas was even wont to go about in public with a cloak covering his head “just like a rich man’s runaway slave in a mime play” (*non aliter quam in mimo fugitiui diuitis solent*).

When Davus describes H. making his way to his lover’s house, heavily perfumed, and with a cloak covering his head, he asks his master: “are you not the very thing that you are pretending to be”? But that leaves us to ask not just “who,” but “who else” does H. resemble as he sneaks off in pursuit of illicit sex, heavily perfumed and covering his head the way he does? Is he just the spitting image of a runaway slave in a mime play, or an adultery mime’s disguised philanderer (see 55 n.)? Or does he perhaps resemble someone rather more real, and much closer to home? H. takes many hits from his slave in this poem. But he takes them as someone who bears an uncanny resemblance to others in his circle: not just to Maecenas, but other poet friends who were at that very time being made over by their patron, and who were just as ambition-driven to please him as H. was.

1–2 ausculto: the verb immediately “takes us into the world of comedy” (Courtney 2013a: 155). Though extremely rare in poetry after the second century BCE (found only here and at Catul. 67.39), the verb occurs eighty-eight times in Plautus and Terence, where it often implies ‘to listen in on’ in secret or ‘to overhear’ (*OLD* s.v. 3). Further on the verb as “comically

²⁴ On Maecenas as a notorious adulterer, see Byrne 1999: 34–5, Stein *RE* 27: 214.

resonant,” see Sharland 2010: 262, and cf. [Acro] *ad loc.*: *inducitur seruus, sicuti in comoedia, qui dicat non posse se ferre dominum. tibi dicere ... pauca* “to tell you a few things.” The infinitive phrase functions as the direct object of both *cupiens* and *reformido* (*apo koinou*). The word *pauca* ends up being highly ironic, given the rambling nature of the diatribe that follows. The verb *reformido* “I shrink back (in fear) from” helps establish the relationship between Davus and H. along familiar New Comic lines, as that of a browbeaten slave living in fear of a despotic master who is hotheaded and prone to lashing out; cf. below on 22, 44 and 116. **Dausne?** “Is that you, Davus?” The name belongs to twelve different slave characters in the comedies of Menander and Terence; see above 5.91 n. **ita** ‘yes’ (*OLD* s.v. 11a).

2–3 amicum | mancipium domino “bought property, friendly to his master.” At one level, the oxymoronic phrase constitutes the *captatio benevolentiae* of a nervous slave who wants to assure his overbearing master that he knows his place (thus he willingly demeans himself as mere “property” owned by H.), and that he means well in what he is about to say. But the phrase may also be taken as the poem’s first indication that Davus is steeped in doctrines of the Stoic sect, and that he intends to instruct H. in some of the “big ideas” that he has recently learned. The idea hinted at here, i.e. that slaves can be friends to their masters, is vigorously argued by Seneca in *Ep.* 47, drawing on a long tradition of Stoic doctrine asserting that no person is a slave by nature, only by misfortune, and that all persons, whether slave or free, have a share in reason as a divine gift. On the doctrinal background of Seneca’s case for the humane treatment of slaves, see Griffin 1976: 257–62. Taken as an expression of Stoic doctrine, the odd phrase finds Davus asserting himself as H.’s natural equal: someone who might rightly be considered a friend, though he happens to be “owned.” Further on Davus’ signaling with the phrase that he intends to help H. see the error of his ways, i.e. by functioning as the idealized *liber amicus* of 1.4.132, see Sharland 2010: 273–4. **frugi quod sit satis**: the *quod* clause is best taken as a relative clause of characteristic, with *frugi* as the predicate of *sit*, and with *mancipium* as the antecedent of *quod*, i.e. unscrambled = *mancipium quod sit satis frugi*. The implication is that Davus is “(slave property) tolerably well behaved/honest” but rather far from perfect. On the *servus frugi* as a type character in New Comedy, where he is the counterpart (and often the dullard nemesis) of the *servus callidus*, see McCarthy 2000: 26–8, and Spranger 1984: 22–6. For an example of the *servus frugi* type, cf. Lyconides’ slave at Plaut. *Aul.* 587–94.

3–4 hoc est, | ut uitale putes “that is, you can reckon he’ll carry on living.” Playing on the proverbial idea that the good die young, Davus comically demeans himself by suggesting that he can be counted on to live a long life. For the proverb in its many versions, see Otto 375 and McKeown

ad Ov. Am. 2.6.39. **libertate Decembri** “December’s freedom” refers to the temporary freedom (here with specific reference to “freedom of speech,” *OLD libertas* 7) that was granted to slaves during the Saturnalia festival; on which, see above 3.4–5 n.

6–20 Davus begins his moral sermon by dividing the world of humans into two groups: those who are resolute in their pursuit of vice, making no apologies for the lives they live, and “the majority” who try to live morally respectable lives but fail to do so because they are “slaves” to urges that they cannot control (for the common metaphor, see below 20 n. and cf. *Sen. Ep.* 47.17). In what follows, Davus will go on to describe H. as a comically erratic member of the latter group. By dressing the unrepentant wastrel’s commitment to vice in the highly positive language of moral resolution and steadfastness of character (*constantia* and *aequabilitas*; see below *passim*), Davus lays the groundwork for the paradoxical conclusion of lines 18–20, where he asserts that committed wastrels are actually less wretched than those who (like H.) try to behave and inevitably fail, because they do not waver in their pursuit of immorality, i.e. they exhibit an admirable steadiness (ironically resembling a serious “moral” commitment) to the pursuit of immorality.

6–7 pars hominum ... pars multa: for the common “some ... others” construction, see *OLD pars* 3b. As a feature of philosophical *sermo*, cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1.1.77–8 *pars hominum ... sunt qui*. On the use of *multa* for the much more common *magna*, cf. *Carm.* 3.30.6 *multaque pars mei*, and see McKeown *ad Ov. Am.* 1.15.42. **constanter** “with steady resolution.” As a committed Stoic, Davus finds more to admire in the *constantia* of wastrels sticking to their vice than in the inconstancy of moral strivers; see prev. n. and 18 n. below. On *constantia* as a key concept of Stoic ethics, see Reydam-Schils 2005: 49–52, and cf. Seneca’s *De constantia sapientis*, where the main topic of discussion concerns emotional steadiness, esp. in the face of insult and adversity. **natat** “swims” in the sense of “wavers” or “lacks firmness,” *OLD* s.v. 4a. As a Stoic metaphor, cf. *Sen. Ep.* 35.4, 95.62. **capessens** “striving toward”; cf. *Cic. Tusc.* 1.42.

8 prauis obnoxia “subservient to/addicted to the crooked.” For the adjective used in this sense, see Ramsey 2007 *ad Sal. Cat.* 52.21. The phrase delivers the antithesis to *recta capessens* “striving after the straight” in the prev. line, and introduces the main premise of the discourse that follows, where Davus argues that H., though technically his master, is a slave to his passions.

9 tribus anellis: on wearing multiple rings (one was the norm) as a sign of moral degradation and ostentatious display, see Schmeling *ad Petr. Sat.* 32.3 on the two rings sported by Trimalchio, and cf. *Sen. Nat.* 7.31, where Seneca complains that men of his day have lost their toughness, and now

walk and dress like women, with multiple rings per finger. **Priscus** is otherwise unknown, but as Rudd 1966: 189 points out, he foreshadows H. (i.e. H. as he is represented in the remainder of this poem) in his failure of *aequabilitas*, and “takes the place of Tigellius” in S. 1.3, a poem that begins with a similar portrait of wild vacillation. It is as if Davus is now turning H.’s own lessons against him; cf. below 89 and 116 nn.

10 uixit inaequalis “he lived an erratic life,” i.e. a life devoid of *aequabilitas* “steadiness.” As a central tenet of Stoic ethics, *aequabilitas* refers to the steadiness of behavior that is the outward manifestation of rational self-control within. Kemp 2009 points out that H.’s handling of the concept in S. 1.3 is ironic, in that it finds him deploying the Stoics’ own concept against them to make a decidedly Epicurean point. Further on Stoic *aequabilitas*, see Gowers *ad* 1.3.9. **clauum ut mutaret in horas** “so that he would change his stripe by the hour.” Colored (normally deep crimson) stripes on Roman clothing were highly readable signs of rank and achievement. Knights, senators and senior magistrates wore colored stripes of varying widths on their tunics (knights traditionally donning narrow stripes, and senators broad ones). Curule magistrates and freeborn schoolboys sported stripes on their togas as well (*toga praetextata*). Olson 2017: 18–29 points out that stripes on Roman clothing came in an impressive array of sizes (not just “wide” and “thin”), that there is evidence for striped tunics being worn by men of non-equestrian/-senatorial rank, and that the reference to a change of stripe in this line may in fact refer to a change of color (p. 20).

12 mundior ... libertinus “(any) freedman of a tidier sort.” **honeste** “with his honor intact.”

13 doctus Athenis “a scholar in Athens.” The location suggests the pursuit of literary and philosophical learning, and produces an unstated “body-to-soul” contrast with what precedes: at Rome Priscus chases after bodily pleasures, while in Athens he devotes himself to developing his moral sensibilities and his mind. On Athens as a center of learning for the sons of well-off Romans (including H.) in the late Republic, see Rawson 1985: 6–14.

14 Vortumnis ... iniquis “born when the Vortumni, as many as there are, were in an unfair/hostile mood.” The phrase is modeled on the proverbial expression “born under angry gods” (*natus dis iratis*, see above 3.8 n.), but the shift from *iratus* to *iniquus* produces a unique version of the saying that underscores Priscus’ “lack of balance” (see *OLD iniquitas* 2b). An Etruscan god of fertility, Vortumnus (= Vertumnus) was associated with ongoing seasonal change (i.e. *uertere* + *annus*). In Ovid’s account of the god’s seduction of Pomona (*Met.* 14.642–771), Vortumnus is a master of disguises who adopts many forms in order to get close to Pomona. The

god's most famous statue, a landmark of the ancient city, was located at the Forum-side entrance to the *Vicus Tuscus* ("Etruscan street"). Decked out in the first fruits of each season, the statue's appearance was constantly in flux (just as in Ovid's tale). Further on Vortumnus as a god of constant change and receiver of first fruits, see Hutchinson 2006 on Prop. 4.2, esp. pp. 86–7 and on lines 21–48.

15 Volanerius is otherwise unknown, but his designation as a *scurra* marks him as irresponsible, pleasure loving and prone to excess. The *scurrae* of Roman comedy are commonly rich (or once rich) gadabouts who insert themselves as required, expert company wherever there is fun to be had, and who grab attention by pretending to know things (cf. the quasi-etymological verbal play of Plaut. *Trin.* 202–5 *urbani adsidui ciues, quos scurras uocant ... qui omnia se simulant scire neque quicquam sciunt*), and by gossiping and telling tasteless and insulting jokes. Fest. p. 378M (citing Lucil. fr. 254–8W = 1138–42M) derives *scurra* "a sequendo" ("from following"), arguing that men of slender means would follow men of substance in order to show them honor. Further on the many faces of the Roman *scurra*, see Damon 1997: 109–12, Gowers *ad* 1.23–4 and 4.86–8, and 36–7 n. below. **iusta cheragra** "the gout he deserved." Marked by severe joint pain and swelling in the hands and/or feet, gout was thought to result from excessive indulgence in food, drink and sex (the findings of modern medicine support the first two). Romans knew the disease by two Greek names: *cheragra* (χειράγρα, "hand pain") and *podager* (ποδάγρα, "foot pain"). Plin. *Nat.* 26.100 takes the lack of a Latin name for the disease as evidence for its being a foreign "immigrant" (*morbis ... peregrinus et ipse*) previously unknown among the early inhabitants of Italy (a sign of their original purity). Further on gout as a disease "associated with wealth and frivolous living," see Henriksén 2012: 92 on Mart. 9.92.9–10.

17 phimum "dice-box." This is the sole use of the Greek term (φίμος) in extant Latin. Because his fingers were ruined by gout (see prev. n.), Volanerius was unable to gather up the dice and put them in the box, so he hired someone to do this for him, paying the dice-gatherer a full day's wages for his efforts. Ancient moralists commonly deplored gambling as a cause of financial ruin, but Volanerius, here admired for his steady commitment to his vice, is pictured as financially well-off.

18 pauit "he kept fed" suggests that the dice-gatherer's daily wage was both regular and ample enough to provide him with a full means of support (i.e. "kept on staff"); see *OLD pasco* 3. **constantior**: as a reference to Stoic *constantia*, see above 6–7 n.

20 The metaphor seems to be that of a dog (or perhaps a pack animal) straining against its leash. Sometimes the animal pulls hard against the leash, trying to break free, and at other times it gives up and lets it go

slack. Further on the image, see Mayer *ad Ep.* 1.10.47–8. The point of the metaphor is that Volanerius and Priscus are both tethered like animals, i.e. slaves to vice (see above 6–20 n.), but that Volanerius is the less miserable of the two for having long since acquiesced to his bondage: he no longer even tries to break free.

21 hodie “at once, here and now.” The word underscores H.’s exasperation, and contributes to the “comic” coloring of the interchange; see next n. and cf. *OLD hodie* 3, noting that passages from Plautus and Terence account for all but one instance of the adverb used in this intensifying sense prior to its use here; cf. also Donatus’ explanation of the intensifying *hodie* of Ter. *Ad.* 215: “*hodie*” *non tempus significat, sed iracundam eloquentiam ac stomachum*. On the casting of H. as a comic hothead in this satire, see above 2 n. and 116 n. below.

22 furcifer “cross-bait” (lit. “fork-bearer,” referencing punishment by crucifixion) is another snatch of comic diction (see prev. n.), spoken in anger. Before its use here, the insult occurs nineteen times in the plays of Plautus and Terence, and three times in Cicero in moments of strong moral denunciation. On the low register of the word, and its strong associations with Roman comedy, see Dickey 2002: 171 and 177. On H. as comically hot-tempered in this poem, see 2, 44 and 116 nn., and cf. *Ep.* 1.20.25 where, in addressing his book as if it were a slave newly freed in need of one last scolding, he describes himself as “quick to flare up in anger” (*irasci celerem*). **ad te, inquam** “it’s you I’m talking about.” This explanatory use of *inquam* (see *OLD* s.v. 3c, and cf. below 8.27 n.) indicates that Davus is clarifying “the drift” of his previous statement.

22–32 Davus confronts H. with a list of past proclamations that he has made regarding his commitment to simple living (*laudas*, 22; *clamas*, 25; *optas*, 28; *laudas*, 30; *dicis*, 31). Each claim is exposed as hypocritical by Davus, and each has a counterpart in statements made, and moral lessons taught, in earlier satires, e.g. the praise of old-fashioned morals looks back to 1.4.117 and 2.92–3; the hypocritical refusal to accept the god’s offer of the very life that H. says he longs for (but secretly does not want) recalls 1.1.14–19; praise of vegetarian meals enjoyed at home recalls 1.6.112–18, and the erratic wavering between country and city recalls the moral inconsistency of the country mouse in poem 6. By exposing his master’s hypocrisy, Davus takes the satirist’s role upon himself (see 1.64 n.), much as H. had done in exposing the stylistic “vice” of Lucilius in book 1 (*nam fuit hoc uitiosus*, 1.4.9).

23 et idem: see above 3.309 n.

24 si quis ... deus: the same fantasy-scenario occurs at 1.1.15 *si quis deus* (see Gowers *ad loc.*). On the origins of the topos in popular philosophy, Menippean satire and mime, see Del Giovane 2017: 34–5. **usque recuses** “you’d persist in/make no end of refusing.”

25 quod clamas “what you’re shouting about” suggests that H. (perhaps styling himself a public preacher; see prev. n.) makes a loud show of his moral commitments.

26–7 non firmus: i.e. *inconstans*. On the evocation of *constantia* by the adjective *firmus* in late Republican political discourse, see Hellegouarc’h 1972: 284. Fedeli *ad loc.* suggests that a military metaphor is in play: like a soldier whose commitment to his cause is half-hearted, when called upon to defend a strategic position H. sticks fast to his spot (as if stuck in the mud). Versions of the proverbial expression “stuck in the mud” are found elsewhere in Roman poetry only in the plays of Plautus and Terence; see Otto 201–2.

28 Romae rus optas points back to the poet’s dream of a rustic escape in the prev. poem, esp. 6.60 *o rus, quando ego te aspiciam?*

29 levis “fickle.” As a reference to *inconstantia*, see *OLD* s.v. 15, Gel. 6.11.1 *levitatem plerumque nunc pro inconstantia ac mutabilitate dici audio*, and cf. Cic. *Amic.* 95.

30 securum holus “carefree vegetables.” On a simple diet of vegetables symbolizing a life free from worry, see above 1.74 and 6.117 nn., and Gowers *ad* 1.74 and 1.6.112–15.

31–2 te ... amasque | quod “and you pat yourself on the back because” For the construction, see *OLD* *amo* 11a; cf. *S.* 1.2.53–4, Cic. *Att.* 4.18.2. **potandum:** the verb implies not just drinking (*bibere*), but drinking to excess; see *OLD* s.v. 4, N–H *ad Carm.* 1.20.1 *uile potabis* and 2.11.17 *potamus uncti*, and cf. 8.3 below. Here the use of the gerundive is best explained as a case of represented speech (see *NLS* §265, and next n.), i.e. with it, Davus captures (and mocks) the false posturing of H. as he expresses his relief at not “having to get drunk” anywhere, as if that were a terrible burden.

32–3 iusserit ad se | Maecenas “just let Maecenas ‘order’ you to his place.” The verb is unusually strong; one expects an “invitation” to dinner rather than an “order.” It can be accounted for either as an unmarked and esp. abrupt instance of represented speech (just as *potandum* above; see prev. n.) that finds Davus mocking the false airs put on by H. as he complains of being “ordered,” yet again, to feast lavishly and drink himself silly with Maecenas; or it can be taken as Davus’ own critical commentary on the relationship that he sees holding between Maecenas and H., i.e. as that of master to slave, or that of a wealthy patron to a parasite who is overly eager to please. **serum** “late” in the sense of “at the last minute.” The detail suggests that H. has been summoned as an afterthought to fill an empty space. As such, it constitutes a snide comment on Davus’ part concerning the relative insignificance of H. as an invitee, mocking his eagerness to please. **sub lumina prima** “just as the lamps are being lit,”

i.e. at dusk. By Roman reckoning, all days had twelve hours of daylight, no matter the time of the year (summer hours were thus very long, and winter hours very short), and the setting of the sun coincided with the end of the twelfth hour. Accordingly, lamps would have been lit in the eleventh and twelfth hours, i.e. at a point when any feast of a more elaborate sort would already have been well underway; see 8.3 n., and cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.723-7 on the timing of the lamp-lighting at Dido's feast, after the feast has already been cleared away and as the wine is being poured. The time designation here does not necessarily indicate when the party itself was scheduled to get underway, but the point at which H. receives his invitation, i.e. the very last minute, as an afterthought, and perhaps after the party has already begun. Dinner invitations were normally issued to clients at the morning *salutatio*; see Damon 1997: 133, n. 77. In hoping for, then happily pouncing on, a last-minute invitation, H. resembles the *scurrae* who wait at his own door (see 36-7 below).

34 nemon ... ocius "will no one get moving and bring me some oil?!" As he heads off for dinner, H. needs oil to light his lamp (see prev. n.). For *ocius* in the sense of "right now!" see *OLD ociter* 2b and L-H-S vol. II: 168-9, and cf. the same usage in line 117 below. For such "comparative for positive" adverbial substitutions as a feature of colloquial speech, esp. prominent in the plays of Plautus and Terence (e.g. Plaut. *Mer.* 930), see Eden *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 8.101 and N-H *ad Carm.* 2.11.18.

36-7 Mulvius ... discedunt "Mulvius and (his fellow) prowlers give up and disperse, heaping you with curses that I mustn't repeat." Mulvius is unknown, but he openly admits to being a slave to his belly in lines 37-9. On his characterization as a parasite, see Damon 1997: 132-4. It seems that he and his fellow *scurrae* have followed H. home at the day's end (see above 15 n.), and that they have hung about in the hopes of being invited to dinner. **dixerit ille** "he [sc. Mulvius] might well have said." For the potential use of the perfect subjunctive, see *OLS* 490-1 and *NLS* §119.

38 supinor: the passive form here has a middle sense (the usage is unique; see *OLD* s.v. 2a) and takes an accusative object: "I tilt my nose up at the savory scent." The image of a man moving, belly-forward, with his nose lifted in the air, recalls the sight gags of comedy, mime and/or farce. **nidore**: abl. of cause. The earliest scheming/starving flatterer of Greek poetry is the so-called κνισοκόλας (lit. "savory scent flatterer") of the sixth-century Samian poet Asius (fr. 14 West); on which, see Edwards 2010: 304-5.

39 popino "a frequenter of *popinae*," i.e. "a fast-food regular." The word delivers an end-rhyme with *supinor* in the line above. According to Suet. *Gram.* 15 the same rare word capped off (much as it does here) an ascending string of insults that were hurled at the historian Sallust by Pompeius

Lenaeus, in a “biting satire” (*acerbissima satira*) that Leneaus wrote in defense of Pompey the Great, his deceased former master; see Courtney *FLP* 145. Quoting Var. *Men.* 308, Non. p. 238, 13 explains that *popinones* are *luxuriosi, qui se popinis dedunt*. On *popinae* as places of ill repute, see above 4.62 n.

40 tu: as the subject of *sis* and the two verbs that follow, the nominative personal pronoun is both emphatic (“although you *yourself* are what I am”) and contrastive (“should *you* be the one scolding *me!*?”). **ultro** “turn right around and” The adverb indicates that what follows flies in the face of what has just been said; see *OLD* s.v. 4.

42 obuoluas: the metaphor is one of covering or “shrouding” one’s head to avoid detection, and anticipates *caput obscurante lacerna* of line 55 below.

43 quingentis ... drachmis “for 500 drachmas” (roughly 2,000 HS (sesterces)). The price is given in Greek currency because drachmas and talents are the currency of Roman comedy. The price of Davus’ purchase, while not insubstantial, is relatively low, suggesting that Davus possessed few if any saleable skills at the time of his purchase. References to slave prices in H., Petronius, the Elder Pliny and Martial establish a range of 1,200–4,000 HS for unskilled or moderately skilled adults; see Scheidel 2005: 7. Col. 3.3.8 suggests that a skilled vine-dresser could fetch in the range of 6,000–8,000 HS, a sum that he regards as high (*pretiosum uinitorem*) but worth paying. Plin. *Nat.* 7.128 asserts that a price of 700,000 HS was once paid for a highly skilled grammarian (Lutatius Daphnis), but that certain celebrity actors of his own day had “far exceeded” that amount (*excessere hoc ... nec modice*) in paying the purchase price of their own freedom. **deprend-eris:** the present passive indicative here takes a predicate nominative *stultior* (“caught red-handed as more a fool than I am”). **aufer** “away with!” in the sense of “stop!” here takes an infinitive phrase to complete its sense. The word is esp. common in the mouths of exasperated masters in Roman comedy who have “had it up to here” with a slave’s nonsense, e.g. Euclides berating Lyconides’ slave at Plaut. *Aul.* 638 and the pimp Cappadox addressing the slave Palinurus at Plaut. *Cur.* 245. Here it is the slave (talking like a master) who has had enough of his master’s nonsense.

44 H. glowers menacingly at Davus as his anger begins to boil. The phraseology is oddly reminiscent of Acc. *trag.* fr. 623W (Telephus in rags (addressing Achilles?)): *proinde istaec tua aufer terricula atque animum iratum comprime*.

45 Crispini: the prolix Stoic preacher Crispinus (the name is common, but this particular Crispinus is unknown outside of H.) makes several appearances in the early poems of book 1 where he, along with his

fellow Stoic Fabius, are pilloried as particularly preachy and artless rivals (“anti-Horace” figures) in the field of public philosophical *sermo*; see Gowers *ad* 1.1.120, 3.139, 4.13-16. While this is Crispinus’ only appearance in book 2, both this satire and the third are parodies of the kind of popular Stoic preaching (dogmatic, focused on conversion, and delivered *ad nauseam* with a near religious zeal) for which Crispinus was famous. **edo** “I reveal,” as in 4.10 above (see n.).

47-8 cruce dignus “in a way more deserving of the cross.” The accusative neuter adjective *dignus* functions as a comparative (“internal object”) adverb, and governs the ablative *cruce*. For the construction, see *OLS* 66-7. Crucifixion was a punishment reserved for slaves who defied or harmed their masters, and for non-Romans who threatened Roman power. Masters retained the right to have slave adulterers executed; see Harper 2011: 438-9, and cf. Petr. 45.8 where a slave caught *in flagrante* with his master’s wife is condemned to death *ad bestias*. **me ... intendit** is double-entendre, touching both on Davus’ emotional state (“keys me up (for sex),” *OLD* s.v. 4b) and his physiological condition (“stretches me tight (with an erection),” *OLD* s.v. 2a); cf. Penelope’s saucy provocation of the suitors at *Priap.* 68.33-6: “No one was better at stretching his string (*neruum tendebat*) than my Ulysses ... but seeing that he is dead, you give it a stretch/stretch yourselves tight now (*uos nunc intendite*) so that I might have for my husband whichever of you I find to be a man.” Further on the sexual connotations of *tendere* and *intendere*, see Adams 1982: 46, Hor. *S.* 1.5.83-4. **sub clara nuda lucerna** “naked beneath the lantern’s bright light” contrasts (both in sound and sense) *obscurante lacerna* in line 55 below, suggesting that, unlike H. who goes skulking in disguise in pursuit of married women, Davus has nothing to hide in his relations with prostitutes. The description that follows is suitably graphic (see next n.).

49-50 quaecumque “whoever” suggests that Davus is not picky about which prostitute he sleeps with. He describes their sex play in decidedly equine terms: either he rides her from behind (they are not face-to-face) and delivers “blows” to her *clunibus* “backside”/“haunches” (i.e. with the penis imagined as a rider’s crop – see the trans. of Rudd), or she takes a turn riding him. The point of the horse-riding imagery (which features each participant possessing horse parts – a “tail” for him and “haunches” for her) is both to make an unabashedly open spectacle of Davus’ sexual pursuits, proving that he has nothing to hide (see prev. n.), and to put him squarely in what is supposed to be H.’s role: when it comes to sex, Davus is the horseman (*equus*) and H., though technically a “knight” (*equus*) is the slave (see next nn.). On the “tail” metaphor of these lines as a Horatian coinage (cf. also *S.* 1.2.45), see Adams 1982: 35-7 and 221.

51 famosum ... sollicitum: as a slave, Davus has no reputation to protect, and because he is not emotionally attached to the prostitutes he sleeps with (see prev. n., and cf. 3.253 above) he does not worry that a handsome rival will catch her eye and steal her away. Enslavement (*alterius sub nutu ... aetas*, 1122), damage to one's reputation (*aegrotat fama uacillans*, 1124) and worry over the beloved's flirtations with a rival (*nimum iactare oculos aliumue tueri*, 1139) appear in an extended list of the lover's standard miseries at Lucr. 4.1121–40. Further on which, see Brown 1987 *ad loc.*, and see also Watson *ad Epod.* 15.13.

52 meiat eodem “piss in the same spot.” For verbs meaning “urinate” used of ejaculation in Latin, see Adams 1982: 142, Kissel *ad Pers.* 6.73.

53–4 proiectis insignibus “tossing aside the emblems of your rank.” The standard kit of a Roman of equestrian rank included a short toga of distinctive design and color (the *trabea*), a tunic with a narrow purple stripe, equestrian shoes (*calcei*) and a gold ring (*anulus aureus*); see Edmondson 2008: 27. On the question of H.'s equestrian status, see Armstrong 1986. **prodis** “you appear as,” i.e. as if he were stepping out onto a stage in a certain guise (*OLD* s.v. 2b) after having made a hasty costume change: from equestrian “judge” to “slave.” **ex iudice:** already by the time of S. 1.4 and 1.6 (35 BCE), H. held the rank of an *eques equo publico*, a *scriba quaestorius* and a *iudex selectus*; see Armstrong 1986: 255–6, with further elaboration in Armstrong 2010: 18–20. The *iudices selecti* were chosen annually by the urban praetor, and served as jurors in the standing criminal courts; see Gowers *ad S.* 1.4.123. Adding significant point to Davus' accusation is the fact that these same criminal courts had jurisdiction over cases of adultery; see Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow 2014: 448. **Dama:** see above 5.18 n.

55 obscurante lacerna: the phrase contrasts *clara nuda lucerna* in v. 48 above (see n.). The *lacerna* was a large cloak, sometimes hooded, that was worn as an outer layer over one's clothing in inclement weather; cf. Mart. 14.135.2. By pulling the cloak (or hood) over his head to hide his face (apparently with no bad weather in sight), H. has the look of someone who is trying to blend in with the masses, and clearly up to no good. For hooded cloaks (*paenulae, cuculli*) as the garb of slaves and commoners, see Col. 1.8.9 and 1.1.1.21 (agricultural slaves), Juv. *Sat.* 3.170 (poor farmers) and Mart. 10.76.8 (the urban poor). On the use of slave disguises by persons of high social standing as a historiographical theme, and a common insult in literary invective, see Bradley 1994: 96–7. The fact that well-born adulterers and brothel-goers are commonly described covering their heads as they slink off to meet their lovers (see Watson and Watson 2014 *ad Juv. Sat.* 6.118 and Schmeling *ad Petr.* 7.4) suggests that hooded cloaks may have been the standard outfit of adulterers on the stage of mime. On the “adultery mime,” see below 58–61 n.

56 non es quod simulas? “are you not what you’re pretending to be?” i.e. a common slave (see prev. n.). **induceris** “you are led in,” i.e. brought into the house or bedroom of your paramour. Because the verb also means to “bring on stage” in a certain role and to “bring (performers) into the arena” (see *OLD* s.v. 3a, and cf. *S.* 1.2.20–2), it points ahead to, and helps explain, the specific “torture” images of lines 58–9 (one of a gladiator; the other of a mime actor; see next n.) and it underscores the tendency of Davus to see everything through a lens of fiction, aligning the facts of the world that surrounds him, including his understanding of and interactions with his master, with the patterns of comic drama.

58–61 Davus invites H. to consider the physical pains and humiliations that he will (as if inevitably) be forced to endure in his pursuit of adulterous liaisons, and he suggests that for all the degrading tortures that await him (locked inside a cramped box, with his head wrenched down between his knees) he might as well sell himself to a *lanista* to be seared with rods and slashed to death as a gladiator in the arena. Once again, Davus’ point is that H. is a slave – in this case, willingly subjecting himself to forms of degradation that were normally reserved for slaves. For the details of his description Davus relies heavily on the comic routines of the Roman mime stage (see prev. n.). As standard features of the so-called “adultery mime,” the most popular and enduring of the stage mime’s many routines, the adulterer was forced to hide inside a cramped clothing chest in his lover’s bedroom, put there by a panicked female slave (the *conscia*), as the clever mistress of the house attempted to steer her dullard husband (an elderly *stupidus* who has unexpectedly returned from afar) away from the bedroom. For a brief synopsis of the adultery mime, see *Ov. Tr.* 2.497–506, and Gowers *ad Hor. S.* 1.2.127–33. For connections between the routine misadventures of the *moechus* in the adultery mime and numerous passages of Latin elegy, satire and epigram, see McKeown 1979: 73–4, Fantham 1989: 158 and Zanobi 2014: 32–46.

58 uri uirgis ferroque necari “be seared by rods and slain by the sword.” The infinitives depend on *auctoratus* in the next line. Although the verb *urare* is here used metaphorically, i.e. to describe not a physical act of “burning” with fire, but the intense “searing” pain inflicted by a wooden switch being used as a whip (see *OLD* s.v. 10, and cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1.16.47), Davus’ language is strongly reminiscent of the gladiator’s oath, which refers to burning by fire (or by hot metal) as a very real possibility. The oath is quoted by Seneca at *Ep.* 37.1–2 *turpissimi auctoramenti uerba sunt: “uri, uinciri ferroque necari.”* Further on the oath, see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 117.5.

59 auctoratus “a contract gladiator.” The term designates an erstwhile free citizen who, forced by dire circumstances and/or delusion, has

chosen to forgo his freedom by hiring himself out as a gladiator, with the terms of his employment/enslavement drawn up in a legal “contract” (*auctoramentum*) with a *lanista*; see Kyle 1998: 87–90. While the vast majority of *auctorati* were former slave gladiators who returned to fighting for pay in the arena after having won their freedom, some few *auctorati* were well-born Romans who craved high-stakes adventure and notoriety, or who had spent themselves into bankruptcy. On the colorful condemnation of these volunteer gladiators in satire and elsewhere, see Courtney *ad Juv. Sat.* 11.8, Barton 1993: 26–9, and cf. the ref. to *auctoramentum* in the prev. n. **clausus in arca**: see above 58–61 n., and cf. *Juv. Sat.* 6.44.

60 conscia refers to the mistress’s slave-girl “accomplice”; see Gowers *ad Hor. S.* 1.2.130. **61–3 estne ... uel iustior** “does the husband of a cheating wife possess power [i.e. a right to exact punishment] that’s valid against them both? Against the seducer his power is more valid still.” A Roman husband’s legal right in the late Republic to inflict physical harm, or even to kill his wife and/or her lover upon catching them *in flagrante delicto* is commonly taken for granted, but the evidence for that right is both sketchy and tendentious, based largely on non-legal sources, such as satire and rhetorical *controuersiae*, that freely indulge in exaggeration; see Treggiari 1991: 268–75 whose survey of the evidence shows that “actual killings of wives and adulterers are absent from the Roman record,” but that “comedy, farce, and satire dwell on the savage bullying but not the killing of the adulterer and scarcely touch on the question of violence to the woman” (p. 275). **ambo**: accusative (= *ambos*). This is normally taken to refer to the seducer and the matron, but it may also refer to the matron and her slave accomplice (prev. n.).

63–7 Although these lines pose no significant textual problems, they are notoriously difficult to sort out as a logical argument. The many solutions that have been tried are well explored by Wiesen 1981, but none (including Wiesen’s own) is entirely satisfactory. The main problem concerns the meaning of *peccatue superne* (emended by SB to *peccatque pudice*), and the relation of whatever that phrase might be taken to mean to the explanatory *cum* “since” clause that follows. Wiesen correctly insisted that the phrase is both moral (describing the male adulterer as the “uppermost” i.e. “chief” wrongdoer) and obscenely physical (i.e. referencing the matron’s refusal to mount H. from “on top” the way Davus’ lover does in line 50). Seeing no way to connect that idea to the woman’s fear and distrust of H. in the next line, he proposed putting a period after *peccatue superne* and letting *cum* introduce the next thought. But even after *superne* is separated from the following *cum* clause by a full stop (Rudd 1966: 299, n. 47 explored this option, but without any explicit reference to the sexual

overtones of *superne*), the logic that connects the *cum* clause to what follows in lines 65–7 remains murky (both SB and Muecke bracket the *cum* clause).

A further option, as yet untried, is to take each activity described in line 64 as sexual double-entendre, i.e. as a sustained set of comparisons between the carefree and explicit sexual fun enjoyed by Davus and his lover in lines 47–52 and the buttoned-down and completely un-adventurous sex that takes place between H. and his matron lover who, according to the further double meanings of line 64, is utterly passive and repressed in her approach to love-making (“la femme du monde est passive,” Lejay *ad loc.*). With the full set of these double-meanings taken into account – each of which recalls both the freewheeling sex play of Davus and his lover in lines 47–52, as well as the more shadowy, dangerous and legally culpable behavior of H. in lines 53–61 – Davus’ argument ends up making a good deal of sense: “She, after all, does not switch out of/*strip off* her clothes (sc. as you switch out of your clothes, and as Davus’ lover *strips off* hers) or change her rank/*sexual position* (as you change your rank, and Davus’ lover changes her *sexual position*), nor does she outdo/*get atop* you in behaving wickedly (i.e. she does not take a turn ‘on top’, the way Davus’ lover does), since the woman is afraid of you and does not trust you as a lover.” Taken this way, there is no need for strong punctuation at the end of line 64.

64 peccatue: for the verb *peccare* used of illicit sex, see Adams 1982: 202. **superne:** “on top” refers to the active male’s sexual position (see 63–7 n. and *OLD* s.v. 2a), but perhaps also hints at his resemblance to a god “from on high” in disguise.

65 mulier “the woman.” Her worried state contrasts with the male adulterer’s boldness, and recalls the frightened state of cheating wives and their *consciae* on the stage of mime; on which, see McKeown 1979: 73. **amanti:** sc. *tibi*.

66 furcam “the fork,” an instrument of slave torture. It seems that the *furca* was a forked pole that slaves slated for execution were suspended from, with their hands tied to the far ends. Splayed out this way, they could be scourged (to death) and/or left hanging (i.e. crucified); cf. Liv. 1.26.10. On the difficulties of defining the precise manner of torture implied by *sub furca(m)*, see Samuelsson 2013: 154–6. **dominoque furenti** “to a furious master,” referring to the woman’s husband, who has found out about the affair and seeks retribution from the man he has caught in the act. Though the cuckolded husband is not H.’s master in any legal sense, he is referred to as his *dominus* here because, at this point, H. (the captured adulterer) is completely at his mercy, with not only his money

and reputation at risk, but his very life; see Fedeli *ad loc.*, and above 61–2 n. In his trans., Rudd takes the phrase to refer to “that frenzied master within,” i.e. the lust that controls H. as master to slave.

68–70 euasti: the syncopated form of *euauisti* “you have escaped,” which here amounts to: “let’s imagine that you’ve escaped from the raging husband’s clutches.” What follows is ironic: “(in that case) I’m sure, having been taught your lesson, you will be wary and look out for yourself – which is to say you’ll go looking for yet another chance to cower and get yourself killed!” **o totiens seruus** “slave that you are, so many times over!” The exclamation, based on Greek insults such as τριδουλος (“slave thrice over”) and ἑπτάδουλος (“slave seven times over”), anticipates the idea of multiple failed emancipations in lines 76–7 below.

71 praua (nom. adj. with adverbial force) “wrong-headedly” or “perversely.”

72–4 Davus attempts to teach H. a basic Stoic lesson (cf. Cic. *Fin.* 3.32) about how right and wrong happen at the level of internal motivations rather than action. Davus’ point is that H. refrains from committing adultery only because he fears being caught, but that when it comes to the desires that drive him on the inside, he is an adulterer (and a slave) through and through, i.e. no better than Davus himself when he “wisely” (*sapiens*, which also comically connotes “seeing how I’m a Stoic”) refrains from stealing the silver because he fears the whipping that will ensue. Davus’ use of the term *sapiens* is ill-advised (unless it is knowingly ironic) because the self-regulation that he describes (fearing punishment) is hardly that of a Stoic *sapiens*, whose motivation for virtuous behavior is “a rational love of virtue, which does not reckon with penalties” (Mayer *ad Hor. Ep.* 1.16.50–6). In the end, Davus’ lesson represents a very limited and comically personalized “slave’s take” on the ideas that he is attempting to teach.

74 uaga: should be taken closely with the verb *prosiliat*: “Nature will leap forward and thrash about.” **Natura** is likened to a horse breaking free of its reins.

75–6 tune mihi dominus “you, my master?!” For this use of exclamatory *-ne* in rhetorical questions expressing outrage at the very thought, cf. above 4.83 (see n.). **rerum imperiis hominumque** “the commands of things/reality and men.” The formulaic language of epic is esp. ironic in this instance, because the same words in epic are routinely used as objective genitives, i.e. naming things that are controlled by gods on high, esp. Jupiter; e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.229–30, 10.18. But here “things and men” are subjective genitives (i.e. naming things that exercise control over H. rather than he over them): “You, my master?! You who are a slave to ‘the commands of things and men’, so many and so great?!” **imperiis ... minor:**

as pointed out by Palmer *ad loc.*, the construction is modeled after Greek usage, i.e. ἡττων + genitive in the sense of “a slave to” (see LSJ ἡσσων II). Further on the formulaic language evoked, which derives ultimately from Homer *via* Ennius, see Elliott 2013: 93.

76–7 quem ... imposita “even if given your freedom three or four times.” The phrase *uindictam imponere* (see *OLD uindicta* 1b) refers to the formal ceremony of manumission, during which both master and slave went before a magistrate (usually the praetor) and a third person known as the *assertor libertatis* fulfilled the role implied by his name by both verbally “asserting” that the slave was a free man (*OLD assero*² 2b) while touching the slave with a rod (*festuca*), i.e. matching the verbal claim with a physical act of “assertion” that involves reaching out toward and touching the slave (*OLD assero*² 1), as if to physically “impose” his new free status upon him. If the master raised no objection to the *assertor*’s claim, the magistrate would then declare the slave free. Further on the ceremony, see Muecke *ad loc.* and Kissel *ad Pers.* 5.75–82. **misera formidine**: there is an unspoken connection here between fear used as yet another metaphor for enslavement (along with other bad desires, such as lust, greed and so on), and fear as the emotion *par excellence* of slaves in their actual lives, i.e. a sad commentary on the way they were actively terrorized as a means of social control; see Bradley 1987: 113–37, and cf. Prop. 3.6.6, Cic. *Parad.* 40, Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.66.

78 The line can be taken in three different ways, depending on punctuation. Fedeli *ad loc.* makes a strong case for setting off *super dictis* within commas.

79–81 Davus struggles to find the *mot juste* to describe his position in relation to H. As the slave of a man who is himself a slave, he might consider himself a *uicarius*, which is the technical term for a slave purchased by another slave from the proceeds of his *peculium*. And yet, believing that all men are equally slaves, Davus can also think of himself as a *conseruus* “fellow slave” of H. Most commentators think that Davus is asking “which of these am I to you?”, noting that each term is correct in its own way: *uicarius* from the perspective of a master, and *conseruus* from that of a slave (see Fedeli *ad loc.*). But his question might also be taken to indicate the inadequacy of either term to describe the complicated nature of his relationship to H., asking “what am I to call myself?!” as the slave of a man who is himself owned by multiple masters (lust, ambition and so on), i.e. what term catches the whole of that?!

81 aliis: the MSS are split between the plural (clearly implied by 75–6) and the singular. The explanation of [Acro] *ad loc.* presumes the plural.

82 duceris ... lignum “like a wooden puppet you are pulled into motion by the sinews/strings of others.” For a survey of philosophical illustrations

equating men ruled by desires to puppets pulled by strings, a metaphor esp. well represented in Stoic sources, see Kissel *ad Pers.* 5.127–9.

83–8 quisnam igitur liber?: for the abrupt transition, see above 3.158 n. Davus proceeds to answer his own question by describing the Stoic *sapiens* as a man defined by self-mastery and immune from the urgings of desire and the whims of fortune. Similar effusive descriptions of the *sapiens* at *S.* 1.3.124–36 and *Ep.* 1.1.106–8 end in bathos, and something similar happens here as Davus, in a final creative burst, describes the wise man as perfectly rounded, rock-hard and smooth (as if he were a bowling ball). On the Stoic god imagined as a perfect sphere, see Cic. *N.D.* 1.18. Elsewhere the Stoic’s “rotund” god is taken up with as a source of amusement at Var. *Men.* 583B *rotundus est, sine capite, sine praeputio*, a passage subsequently cited by the divine speaker who interrogates Claudius at Sen. *Apoc.* 8. Further on Davus’ oddly literal image as “a striking extension of the Stoic teachings on the nature of the cosmos and the divine,” see Bond 1978: 92 and Muecke *ad* 86.

83 sibi ... imperiosus “bossy to himself.” Drawing upon his experience as a browbeaten slave, Davus imagines the perfected *sapiens* as a domineering master who barks orders to his inner slaves (his desires) to keep them in tight control; cf. Plaut. *Ps.* 996 *ita erus meus est imperiosus*, and see above 5.110 n. on the humorous “slave-driving” note sounded by the phrase *imperiosa trahit Proserpina*.

85 responsare “talks back to,” i.e. like a cheeky slave standing up to his master; see Courtney 2013a: 157; cf. 103 below (see n.), and Plaut. *Men.* 620–1. The infinitives *responsare* and *contemnere* depend on *fortis* in the next line. Such usage, much more common in the *Odes* than in the *Satires*, underscores the moral character that generates the actions; see Lowrie 1997: 148 on multiple uses of the device at *Carm.* 1.37.25–31.

86 teres atque rotundus: see above 83–8 n.

87 externi ... morari “so that nothing on the outside can stick to his slippery surface.” The line paints a comically odd picture of the wise man’s withdrawal into himself, away from the pains, pleasures and demands of everyday life, things “extraneous” to his inner tranquility. Further on despising and/or fortifying oneself against “externals” (*res externae*) in Stoic thought, cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.66, Sen. *Tranq.* 14.2, *Ep.* 82.5. **per leue** = *super leuem superficiem*, as at Pers. 1.64 (see Kissel *ad loc.*).

88 fortuna “fortune” refers to accidents that befall all humans, whether as good luck to be celebrated, or bad luck to be bewailed. The *sapiens* is often characterized by his ability to endure and/or disregard fortune’s random assaults, e.g. Sen. *Prov.* 4.12; cf. the “violent assaults” of *Fortuna* defied by Ofellus at 2.126 above (see n.).

89–92 Davus follows his idealized (albeit visually odd) picture of the *sapiens* as someone detached, dispassionate and in total control of himself

with a contrasting picture of H. as a man bossed about by an imperious mistress (thus the antithesis of *sibi imperiosus* in line 83 above). The basic outlines of the picture are those of the *exclusus amator* (“locked out lover”) scene of Ter. *Eu.* 46–55, a passage cited by Cic. *Tusc.* 4.76 to illustrate the lover’s mental instability and inconstancy; see above 3.259–71 n. In this case, the inclusion of certain farcical details (e.g. the woman’s making exorbitant financial demands, verbally hectoring her lover, then dumping a bucket of water onto his head) finds Davus reaching farther down the hierarchy of genres, into the pratfalls of Hellenistic and Roman mime, and the misadventures of lovers in erotic elegy; see nn. below specific to these details. On the *exclusus amator* motif in Hellenistic and Roman mime, see Panayotakis 2014: 383–5.

89 *quinque talenta*: the price is exorbitant, thrown into relief by beginning the sentence at the line end. On the use of Greek monetary units in this poem, see above 43 n. Behind Davus’ 5 talent sum is an obscene erotic elegy of Philodemus (*Anth. Pal.* 5.126.1–4), where the same sum is emphasized as an astronomical price paid for sex by an impressive hyperbaton that encloses the entire first line (πέντε ... τέλαντα): “a man I cannot name pays his girlfriend (can’t name her either) 5 talents for a single go, and he shudders in fear as he fucks her ... for my part, when I pay Lysianasse 5 drachmas for a dozen goes, I’m fucking a better woman, and doing so with nothing to hide.” The person mocked is an adulterer (there is a reference to his having his testicles cut off in the poem’s last line). Just as Davus does earlier in this poem (see above lines 46–55), the speaker of Philodemus’ elegy sets himself off from the harried and “shuddering” (φρίσσων) adulterer by contrasting his own freedom from worry, and his ability to get far better (and more) sex at a far lower price. The specific Philodeman background behind Davus’ 5 talent sum is significant because at S. 1.2.121 H. specifically names Philodemus (having already quoted him in line 92) as the authority behind his claim that sex easily gotten with slaves and/or freedwomen is superior to sex with upper-crust matrons who are fickle, make expensive monetary demands and are dangerous to sleep with (the famous “adultery mime” scene immediately follows). Thus, once again we see H. transformed by Davus into the butt of a lesson that H. himself had taught in book 1. On the rather large presence of Philodemus in S. 1.2, see Gowers *ad* 92–3 and 120–2.

91 *perfundit gelida*: having given H. a thorough tongue-lashing, the woman locks him out of her house and tells him to go away. She then dumps water onto his head, as if to douse “the fire” of irrepressible passion that he proclaims to feel for her as he tarries, still pining for her, at her door. The lesson of Cic. *Parad.* 36, which itself evokes comic precedents, has been made over as a sight gag from the stage of mime, which presumes the appearance of an enraged, bucket-wielding matron from a

second-story window; cf. the misadventures of Paulus Silentarius at *Anth. Pal.* 5.281.1–5: “yesterday, having partied on much un-watered wine, as I was wreathing her outer doors with garlands, Hermonassa doused me with water poured from wine-cups ... but the water made my fire flare up all the more.”

93–4 Davus switches the poles of the standard “charioteer of the soul” metaphor of Plato *Phaedrus* 246a–247a (a figure with a long subsequent history): instead of figuring out-of-control passions in terms of a weak and/or unskilled charioteer who fails to exert control over his horses, Davus puts a cruel and relentless master in the driver’s seat who goads a reluctant horse and keeps him turning this way and that (*uerstatque*). For ancient metaphors comparing crazed and tyrannical mental and political states to chariots hurtling out of control, see Wilhelm 1982: 217–18, Schindler 2000: 207, and Rebeggiani 2013.

95–101 In a jarring transition that recalls a similar thematic shift at Cic. *Parad.* 36–7 (see Muecke *ad loc.*), the conversation turns suddenly to the topic of H.’s unbridled zeal for the paintings of the late-classical Greek artist Pausias, a type of high-end connoisseurship that Davus reduces to the level of his own enthusiasm for murals depicting the battles of famous gladiators. From the standpoint of Stoic psychology, both passions are equally wrong because they involve a loss of emotional control; cf. Cic. *Parad.* 37 *Aetionis tabula te stupidum detinet ... seruum te esse ineptiarum omnium iudico*.

Beyond the obvious contrast of “high-brow” versus “low,” there are a number of further contrasts evoked by the comparison having to do with the specific kinds of paintings that made Pausias famous. Plin. *Nat.* 35.124–7 relates that Pausias specialized in miniature paintings (*paruas pingebat tabellas*), mostly of small children. Repeating a story told earlier at 21.3.1–4, Pliny says that in his youth Pausias fell in love with an impoverished and especially gifted “garland maker” (*coronaria*) named Glycera. It was his love for Glycera and her floral art that inspired him to paint highly realistic and ever more elaborately colored paintings of garlands beautifully woven from numerous types of flowers (*numerosissimam florum uarietatem*). Eventually he painted a picture (one of his most famous) of a seated Glycera holding a wreath of her own making. Var. *R.* 3.17 compares an elaborate array of interlocked fish ponds to the paint-box of Pausias, sectioned into multiple coffered wells, each containing a paint of a different color.

Given this background, Davus’ reference to Pausias evokes contrasts beyond high culture versus low, having to do with artistic themes, styles and techniques: “still life” with flowers versus muscular gladiatorial action; miniature versus large; elaborately multi-colored versus red and

black. Given that garlands (and the proper weaving thereof) play such a large role in H.'s *Odes*, both as a standard feature of sympotic poetry and (as a metaphor for artistic ποικιλία/*uarietas*) a symbol for the lyric collection itself, the reference to Pausias as a focus of admiration for H. can be read as a meta-poetic swipe at H.'s latest poetic project (an emerging collection with its own rather "Pausian" obsession for a girl named Glycera, *Carm.* 1.19.5, 1.30.3, 3.19.28). On the importance of garlands as a poetic metaphor in the *Odes*, see Lowrie 1997: 168–72, and cf. the comment of N–H *ad Carm.* 1.38.2: "all such ποικιλία was initiated by the garland-maker Glycera, who was eager to provide her lover ... with new pictorial subjects."

95 torpes "you are stunned/paralyzed (sc. with amazement)." **tabella:** diminutive because Pausias specialized in painting miniatures (see prev. n.).

96–7 qui "how"; cf. 3.108. **atque** "than" (*OLD*s.v. 15). **Fului Rutubaeque | aut Pacideiani:** the gladiators named were presumably champions of their day. Lucil. fr. 172–5W = 149–52M refers to a fighter named Pacideianus (presumably the same gladiator named by Davus) as "the single best gladiator by far since the birth of mankind." The names of the gladiators would have been written in bold letters on the paintings themselves. Plin. *Nat.* 35.51 describes the display of large-scale representations of gladiators as a craze in painting of his own day that extends back to the early second century BCE. Such paintings had no grand masters for Pliny to name. **contento poplite** "straining my calf-muscles," i.e. pushing ahead and standing on tiptoe to get a closer look. The phrase is unique, with near matches at Stat. *Theb.* 9.473 *poplite tenso* and V. Fl. 1.185 *tento poplite*, both of which describe the intense physical strains of men pushing against enormous and powerful obstacles. Davus' decidedly muscular reaction to the paintings of fighting gladiators (= "I admire them with all my might") contrasts the stunned and "paralyzed" reaction of H. to the paintings of Pausias (see prev. nn.). In each case, the viewer reflects the contents of the paintings he admires via his reaction to them: a still reaction to still life for H. versus a muscular reaction to muscular combat for Davus.

98–9 uelut si | re uera pugnent "as if they were fighting for real." Art critics of antiquity put a high value on realism, but they also concerned themselves with technical aspects of art, critiquing works for their symmetry and proportionality; their coloration, perspective, shading and foreshortening; their moral, civic, and religious functions and effects, and so on. Further on the main critical criteria of "professional" art criticism in antiquity, see Pollitt 1974: 12–58, and see pp. 63–4 on realism as the main point of emphasis in criticism "of the nonspecialist or average man." Davus' approach is purely emotive, based on his enthusiasm for gladiatorial fights; cf. Trimalchio's misguided attempt at art criticism at Petr. 52.1.

Further on realism as an important (but rather naive and easily abused) criterion in ancient art criticism, see Slater 1987.

100 arma uiri: Virgil uses several versions of the same phrase, most famously in his epic's first line: *arma uirumque cano* (but cf. esp. *Aen.* 2.668 *arma, uiri, ferte*). Citing Davus' use of the phrase here, Norden 1903: 362, n.1 argues that the phrase derives from an earlier epic precursor, most likely Ennius. The argument is developed further at Norden 1915: 171–3. Lending support to Norden's hypothesis are Bloch 1970 and Conte 1986: 72, n. 41. **nequam** “worthless.” The indeclinable adjective is often used of slaves in Roman comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 1030.

101 audis “you are known as” (*OLD* s.v. 5a).

102 nil ego “I’m trash” (trans. Rudd). **libo fumante** “steaming cake” marks an abrupt shift in the conversation, to the topic of food. The “cake” in question was a simple, un-yeasted flatbread made of emmer or spelt flour. Because of their sacrificial use, such cakes were symbols of old-fashioned religious piety; cf. the *adorea liba* of Aeneas' rustic feast at Virg. *Aen.* 7.109. Yeasted breads, baked in loaves, were known as *panis*, and fancier flatbreads, made with lighter flours, often enriched by cheese and sweetened with honey, were known as *placentae*. H. refers to all three types at *Ep.* 1.10.10–11.

103 responsat “talk back to,” implies “to say no to,” as in 85 above (see n.).

104–5 uentris: objective genitive, as at 5.47 *caelibis obsequium*. **per-niciosius** “more destructive.” Although fairly common in prose, esp. in moments of high dudgeon, (e.g. Cic. *Dom.* 43), the unwieldy six-syllable word occurs nowhere else in Latin poetry. Nilsson 66 points out that the word forms an emphatic and indignant contrast with the rare comparative adjective *impunitior* “more unpunished” near the end of the next line. Elsewhere the comparative form of *impunitus* occurs only at Pers. 5.130, in obvious imitation of this line, and at Liv. 3.50.7. **illa** stretches forward to *obsonia* in the next line.

106 obsonia captas “you go chasing after delicacies.” The phrase marks H. as an ὀψοφάγος “eater of delicacies” or “gourmet.” The word *obsonia*, here emphasized by its long displacement from *illa* in the prev. line, carries special connotations of exotic luxury via its Greek derivation; cf. 2.41 above (see n.).

107 inamarescunt “turn bitter inside.” The word occurs nowhere else in Latin, and seems to find Davus trying to play physician to H.; cf. Cels. 2.7.35 *uenae sub lingua inallescunt*, 2.19.2 *aliae facile in stomacho acescunt*, 3.3.3 *extremae partes membrorum inallescunt*, 5.26.8 *uenae elanguescunt*. Working himself into a lather, and by now jumping rapidly from point to point, Davus strains to find words (happily pulling in oversized words of five and six syllables) to match his mounting exasperation; see above 104–5 n.

108–9 In a jab at H., who was well fed and not a thin man (see above 6.14–15 n.), Davus describes a body at war with itself: the feet, “having been mocked” (*illusique pedes*) “refuse” (*recusant*) to carry the diseased body which, being for so long overfed, is necessarily a very large one, and a heavy load for the feet to bear; cf. the famous *seditio corporis* metaphor of Menenius Agrippa, recorded at Livy 2.32, where the remaining parts of the body feel insulted because all of their efforts are expended in “service to the belly” (*ministerio uentri*). **uitiosum ... corpus**: the body is both “diseased” and “vice-ridden,” as above at 2.77–8 (see n.).

110–11 **mutat** “takes in exchange.” Here the verb takes an acc. of the thing traded for (grapes) and an abl. of the thing traded (a stolen strigil); see *OLD* s.v. 2b, and cf. *Carm.* 1.17.1–2. While the slave engages in petty theft to get a little more food to eat, his counterpart sells his ancestral estate to dine in high style. **gulae parens** “in obedience to his gullet.”

111–15 In a final shift of topic, Davus berates H. for his wild behavioral swings, i.e. the *inconstantia* that finds him dashing back and forth from city to country, indulging first in wine, then in sleep. In a new twist on the lesson of Lucr. 3.1057–70 (the miserable rich man who “cannot escape himself,” see above 6.61–2 n.), Davus compares H. to a runaway slave who is dogged by a relentless master intent on hunting him down. For the lesson in its many instantiations (and esp. common in Seneca), see Kenney *ad* Lucr. 3.1068–9, Lejay p. 555, and Harrison *ad Carm.* 2.16.19–20.

112 horam “for an hour” is acc. of extent of time. Given the context, it lends itself to being read as a pun on H.’s name. For *hora*/*Horatius* puns in the *Sermones*, see Reckford 1997.

113 erro: the term implies both “a straggler” and “a no-show.” As opposed to the *fugitiuus*, who is a runaway, the *erro* goes missing because he is flighty and loses track of time; see Ulpian *Dig.* 21.1.17.

114 uino implies not only that H. seeks an escape from his worries in inebriation, but that he seeks escape from himself in the company of others. The particular combination of *otium*, wine and sleep, coupled with the idea of travel in the next line, suggests that H. seeks an escape from his worries at his Sabine estate, exactly as the fool who rushes to his rustic villa at Lucr. 3.1065–6 *tetigit cum limina uillae ... abit in somnum grauis atque obliuia quaerit*. For the Sabine villa imagined as a place of wine, sleep and forgetfulness, see poem 6 above *passim*, esp. 61–2 (see nn.).

115 frustra: for the adverb’s detachment from what precedes by its placement at the beginning of the line, see N–R *ad Carm.* 3.7.21 and 3.13.6; cf. the detached *mendose* of 4.25 above (see n.). **comes atra**: as a “black” force (feminine) that hounds a man (*premit sequiturque*) and

never lets up, *cura* “worry/anxiety” is to be imagined here not as a mere shadow, but a fury. Further on the commonplace of anxiety’s dogged pursuit of those who try to escape it, see Fowler and Fowler 2002 *ad* Lucr. 2.48 *curae sequaces*, and N–R *ad* Carm. 3.1.39–40 where “black worry” is fully personified.

116 unde mihi lapidem?: H. looks for a stone to hurl at Davus. By losing his temper, H. is at last fully realized as an exploding comic bully. For earlier indications of comic irascibility, see 1–2 and 44 nn. For stone-throwing as a comic threat and sight gag, see above 3.128 n., and cf. Plaut. *Capt.* 600–2. H.’s laughable loss of composure indicates that he is better at dishing out criticism than taking it, and that his lessons about *ataraxia* and self-control are not deeply rooted; cf. a similar loss of composure at S. 1.3.133–6, where H. imagines a Stoic preacher exploding in anger. The shoe is now on the other foot, as H. becomes the butt of his old joke. **quorsum est opus?** “what for?” (*OLD quorsum* 2b). **sagittas:** for arrows as instruments of murderous rage in epic, cf. Achilles’ prayer to Apollo at Hom. *Il.* 1.42 “let the Danaans pay for my tears with your arrows (σοῖσι βέλεσσιν),” and the shafts sent flying by Odysseus in *Od.* 22.

117 For the joke equating versification with insanity, see above 3.321–2 nn.

118 opera ... nona “drudge number nine” (trans. Rudd). H. threatens to reduce Davus to a mere “work unit,” along with eight other such units (perhaps all bound together in a nine-man chain gang), on his Sabine farm. The dehumanizing phrase that reduces Davus to an inventory item both recalls and answers the question posed by the poem’s opening lines, concerning whether Davus is to be considered his master’s “friend” or a mere piece of “property” (see above 2–3 n.). On the Elder Cato’s treatment of slaves as mere “tools,” see *Agr.* 2.7, and cf. Var. *R.* 1.17.1. For Cato’s remarkable obsession with tallying and itemizing “works” on his farm, see the opening chapters of Cato’s *de Agri Cultura*, esp. chap. 2: (*uilicum*) *ad rationem operum operarumque revoca*. **agro ... Sabino:** the phrase, with which *opera ... nona* interlocks, emphasizes “the way” in which Davus will come to know H.’s villa: not as a pleasurable retreat, but as a working farm with fields to be toiled in, and a hard-driving Cato at the helm. On the special association of the Sabine countryside with Cato the Elder and the demands of agricultural production, see Cic. *Sen.* 23–4. On the slave’s reassignment to the country as a form of punishment, and a threat often leveled against unruly slaves by comic masters, cf. the agricultural “slave gang” threat of Ter. *Ph.* 248–50, and see Schmeling *ad* Petr. 69.3.

SATIRE 8

The book's final satire has the form of an overheard conversation (a mock symposium, see below). One man, eager for gossip, asks another to describe what took place the night before at a sumptuous dinner party hosted by Nasidienus (hereafter Nas.), a man whose name suggests both snobbery and highly refined tastes.²⁵ Rather far into the dialogue (see 19 n.), we learn that the man being buttonholed for information is Fundanius (Fund.), a writer of comedies. He treats his unnamed friend (presumably H.) to a tale of a magnificent dinner party gone terribly wrong: a tragedy for the host, retold as comedy by Fund. The food was excellent, he says, all of high artistic design, and the wine top notch. But the show that the host put on to impress his celebrity guest was excessive, self-congratulating and interminable. He was much too desperate to please, for, as his guest of honor, Nas. had reeled in the city's biggest fish: none other than Gaius Cilnius Maecenas. Not only was Maecenas one of Rome's most powerful political players, he was a man fond of luxuries, and known to be highly demanding in his tastes. As if to put those refined tastes on proud display, Maecenas included in his entourage several of his most prominent poets: Viscus, Varius and Fund. himself. He shows them off for Nas. just as Nas. shows off his people, and his cooking, for him. To keep things lively, Maecenas also brought along two "shadows" (*umbrae*), Vibidius and Balatro, mixing low with high to achieve a balance of opposites: a *uariatio* of the guest list complementing that of the meal itself (*uaria cena*; see 2.71, 6.86 nn.). Due to circumstances unforeseen, these two end up stealing the spotlight. Midway through the meal, just as Nas. was proudly presenting the meal's main course, a tapestry fell and brought clouds of dust down onto the beautifully prepared dish: a moray eel, served in a perfectly seasoned sauce. Nas. buries his head in his hands and begins to cry. Nomentanus, Nas.'s personal food guru, reacts to the eel's demise by loudly bewailing Fortune's cruelty. Varius, the tragedian in the group, begins to laugh. What one man sees as tragedy, the other sees as farce (*Variatio* with a capital V).

It is here, at this terribly awkward moment, that an unlikely hero raises his nose (64 n.) to save the day: Balatro, one of Maecenas' heavy-drinking tag-alongs, manages to revive Nas. and encourage his return to the kitchen, as if to battle. Balatro may have thought that he was helping

²⁵ On the nose as an "organ of literary sensibility," see Connors 2000: 504–8. As a tool for expressing derision, irony and (class-conscious) contempt, see 64 n.

bring the meal to a close by urging Nas. to pick himself up and march boldly toward the dessert course, but when Nas. returns he has with him an entirely new main course, a veritable *sparagmos* of bird parts, all hastily prepared and heaped onto a giant trencher.²⁶ The guests, who have, by this point, had enough not only of food and drink, but of Nas.'s vainglorious talk, are unwilling to put up with any more. Whether politely or not (Fund. does not say) they take their revenge and their leave. The bird heap is left steaming on the tray, untasted.

Nearly 500 years ago, Denis Lambin (Lambinus) suggested that a real general might lurk behind the fictional *convivator* of this poem: Q. Salvidienus Rufus, a one-time friend of Octavian, condemned to death for his betrayal of Octavian in 40 BCE. The idea is far-fetched, based almost entirely on the man's like-sounding name, but the idea has enjoyed significant staying power because it allows one to find H. targeting not some rich nobody who is the obvious, low-hanging fruit of the poem itself, but a known enemy of Octavian.²⁷ Having that other man secretly implied by Nasidienus gives this satire something significant to do (though what exact political gain is made by taunting the long-dead Salvidienus is not altogether clear). To look at the satire in this way is to let one's own strong assumptions about what satire must do affect what one sees it doing. In the end, it is to reduce the satiric work of the poem to things that H. has told us not to expect (for H. eschewing targets in the political sphere, limiting himself to the foibles of friends, to poetic rivals, and to persons of no account, see esp. 1.3, 1.4.91–101).

One other thing that H. has consistently excluded from his satires, though many readers would have expected it, is any clear view into his life with Maecenas. The man who dogs the satirist's every step in *S.* 1.9 is desperate to have H. tell him what goes on behind the walls of Maecenas' mansion. He wants to use that information to wheedle his way inside (1.9.43–54). In his curiosity, he stands in for readers whose expectations for what satire is, and how it should operate, had been set by Lucilius, and thus they had every good reason to think that, in the course of his writings, H. would let them in on the juicy details of his life with Maecenas, just as Lucilius had done in describing his life with Laelius and Scipio. Trebatius reminds H. of this expectation at 2.1.71–4 (see nn.), but H. responds to him by saying that, while he, too, lives his life in the company of rich and powerful men, he ranks far below Lucilius in terms of his social standing.

²⁶ For the dish as a "tragic *sparagmos*," see Gowers 1993: 176.

²⁷ For strong recent support of the idea, see Sharland 2011: 86–93. For its larger history, see Berg 1996: 149 n.15.

Lucilius' connection to Scipio, he makes clear, was that of an equal. He could shed light on the lives that they shared because the power dynamic was very different, and flowed both ways. He himself, on the other hand, had been "summoned" by Maecenas and subjected to a formal interview. He was then kept waiting for nine months before being selected as one of Maecenas' lucky few (see *S.* 1.6.45–62). Such was the nature of their relationship. All of which is to say that one should not expect to find in these poems any insider information about big politics, or pictures of H. chasing Maecenas around the dining room with a twisted napkin.

On the few occasions that H. raises the possibility of exposing the private life of Maecenas to public view in his satires, he does so only to tease readers, and to remind them that they should not expect such things from him; see, e.g. 6.42–6 (see n.). This, the final poem of the second book, is the biggest tease of all in that it puts readers where H. has never taken them before, which is right where they have wanted to go all along: behind the scenes with Maecenas, inside the private halls of the rich and ridiculous, tagging along with the regal Etruscan to one of his outlandish dinner parties. This is a first in H.'s satires that he has cleverly held off until the last. At this party the guest of honor is Maecenas, so the spotlight must surely be on him. And yet it is not. In fact, it is quite emphatically not on him, exploding any expectation that readers might have had to the contrary: of the nine persons who attend this dinner, Maecenas is the only one who is just "there," without any further role to play. Any words that he may have spoken, any reactions that he may have had to the food, to the droning of Nas.'s voice, or to the demise of the eel, go completely unreported. In Fund.'s telling, the star attendee is introduced, only to be completely overshadowed.

It is not H.'s way to put Maecenas in the spotlight. Nor is it his way to let moral flaws (*uitia*) go unchallenged and un-laughed-at, whether flaws of his own, or those of a friend (on friendly criticism as an Epicurean imperative, see Freudenburg 2005: 9–10, 2014: 113–16; with special reference to Philodemus, see Yona 2018: 74–5, 156–61). Persius saw this about H. Near the end of his first hexameter satire, the Neronian satirist draws a distinction between his two principal forerunners in the genre. Lucilius he pictures naming names and attacking his enemies, all big targets in the political sphere, biting them hard enough to crack a tooth (114–15). But H. he describes using a softer technique, one that gains him access to the insides (*praecordia*) of an anonymous "friend." Won over, the friend lets him in (*admissus*), and there the satirist "touches on" the man's every vice, all the while he keeps him laughing along (*omne uafēr uitium ridenti Flaccus amico | tangit*, 116–17). "Such a clever cad is he," Persius concludes, "at suspending the crowd from his snot-free nose" (*suspendere naso*, 118). The metaphor jumps out as H.'s own. Persius has it from this poem

(see 64 n.), where Fund. uses it to describe Balatro, the meal-cadging “shadow” who urges the host to pluck himself up like a “feast-marshal” and keep the party going.

As Persius clearly saw, there is much about Balatro that smacks of H. himself. For Persius, Balatro is the satirist in the room: a Horace in disguise. Like H., he speaks self-mockingly, carefully balancing his words to ironize and keep people guessing (*OLD suspendere* 7 and *suspensus* 3b; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.11 on the cagily “balanced” language of Tiberius: *suspensa semper et obscura uerba*). Such indirection is a function of who he is: a lesser friend of Maecenas, keenly aware of his place at the table. He is not there for his own sake, but along for the ride, to help Maecenas “show” well as a man of discerning tastes and interesting, well-behaved friends. As such, he cannot blurt out whatever he happens to be thinking. He cannot break out in laughter and deride the host as a fool (something that repeatedly threatens to happen in the poem; see Freudenburg 2001:117–24). And yet, despite all the constrictions that his friendship with Maecenas puts upon his speech, Balatro finds a way to play the satirizing truth-teller and the gracious guest at the same time. Tying with the idea that the smashed eel is the host’s son tragically fallen before his time, he consoles Nas. by using the words of a formal *consolatio* (65 n.), and thus he mimics the highly stylized language of that ritualized practice whereby one noble Roman responded encouragingly, as a well-meaning friend, to the grief of another. As funny and potentially scorching as this seems, the touch is very light, and the criticism hard to detect. For it is delivered not as a blast of abuse, but a humorous discontinuity, an awkwardness to be felt in the mismatch of the consolation’s heavy framework (a dead child) to its frivolous contents (a ruined main course). As such, the criticism is there to be sensed by Nas., if he has the nose to sense it, and then thought about, and (if all goes well) somehow taken to heart. Packaged this way, the critique does not injure or insult, but encourages Nas. to think “Yes, my friend, you’re right. This isn’t such a big deal.” And thus back to the kitchen he goes.

H. mocks himself in Balatro, underscoring the artful dodgery of satire done in his very different (non-Lucilian) way, i.e. speech constrained by the company he keeps. Persius seems to have seen this. But his construal of H. using *sermo* to “touch on” the flaws of a friend seems, at first glance, hard to square with what happens in this satire. The poem’s main target, after all, is no friend of the poet, but a precursor of Petronius’ Trimalchio (Bodel 1999, Schmeling: 81), a conceited braggart of the first order. His flaws are on proud display throughout, all the while Maecenas, the “friend” in the room, is kept completely out of sight. But Maecenas and his friends are as much the butt of this satire as are its more obvious

fools, for every ridiculous thing that happens at this feast (minus the curtain fall) happens because Maecenas is there, not just taking it all in, but, like some hidden gravitational force, *causing* it to happen. Whatever Nas. does to please his celebrity guest, he does in the very particular way that he knows Maecenas is susceptible to being pleased. That is, he plays up to Maecenas in precisely those ways that he knows Maecenas loved being played up to, and if that looks finicky and over-proud, that is because that is who Maecenas is, and that is how he presented himself to the world.

At *Carm.* 1.20 H. subtly needles Maecenas for being a wine snob, and two of the four wines that H. names as his patron's favorites in that poem are offered to him by Nas. at the beginning of this one. Plin. *Nat.* 14.67 mentions the existence of wines named after Maecenas (*Maecenatiana*) that were grown in Istria, either from grapes developed by him, or grown in vineyards belonging to his family (see Purcell 1985: 6 and 16, n. 80). It is because Maecenas was so notoriously picky about wines that Nas. stages their entry the way he does: by offering Maecenas four of the world's finest wines, presenting them as if they were sacred objects carried in a religious procession. The most overbearing moment of the meal is located at the poem's exact center (42–53), where the fish course is served to the accompaniment of Nas.'s droning commentary on every detail of its preparation. For as silly and overdone as this is certainly made to seem, Maecenas was known to be a connoisseur of fish (oddly, he was connected to persons named "Moray eel" via his wife, sister of L. Licinius Varro Murena – as food puns go, this one is worthy of Trimalchio) and he apparently had much to say about the denizens of the deep (including dolphins, Plin. *Nat.* 9.25) in some written work, now lost (Cornell, vol. I: 643–4). In the first book of his *Natural Histories*, the Elder Pliny lists Maecenas among his main authorities for book 9, on marine life (primarily on fish), as well as for book 32, on medicines derived from aquatic animals. In Nas.'s boast about being the first to include rocket and elecampane in the sauce that the eel swims in, one can hear echoes of a similar claim (perhaps one of many) made by Maecenas, that it was he himself who introduced the meat of baby donkeys to Roman banquets (*pullos earum epulari Maecenas instituit, multum eo tempore praelatos onagris*, Plin. *Nat.* 8.170). Nas. is sure that Maecenas will be impressed by the hidden subtleties of his foods, as when he (in this case via Nomentanus) points out that the honey apples were picked under a waning moon (31–2), or that the bird parts of the meal's final dish were wrenched off rather than cut (86). He is not wrong to assume this. According to Plin. *Nat.* 19.177, Sabinus Tiro dedicated a book "On Gardening" (the earliest known book dedicated to the topic) to Maecenas, owner of the largest and most lavish *horti* in Rome (see the intro. essay of poem 6), in which he argued that certain herbs were never to be touched by iron.

Nas. shows off his food expert. Maecenas shows off his poets. Point for point, one man's pretensions mirror the other's. Thus, to satirize the one is to "touch on" the flaws of the other, exposing, and needling, the "friend" who hides in the room. But playing up to Maecenas in the way that Nas. does is not just what rich braggarts do to please him and earn his favor. It is what poets do. In a sidelong way, they (and this must include H. himself²⁸) are the biggest targets of this poem, for it was they, above all, who actively sought to have Maecenas appreciate the finer qualities of their creations. The *ego primus* claims of 51–2 implicate them, by casting culinary innovations in terms of poetic daring, and one sees the obsessions of poets replicated in many of the foods that are served. The first two courses are composed of varied ingredients, artfully arranged, crafted as specimens of naturalistic art: a boar surrounded by the root vegetables upon which it typically feeds, and the moray eel served in a briny sauce, surrounded by swimming prawns (Gowers 1993: 173). Each animal appears "as if" in the natural setting that is suited to it. Like individual poems of a book, these dishes are arranged into a larger whole, served in a series that progresses from earth (the boar) to sea (the eel) to sky (the birds served at the poem's end). Some of these dishes have generic valences that are quite specific: the appetizer course smacks of satire (Gowers 1993: 171), and the fish course features a moray eel "stretched out" on its platter like a fallen warrior (43 n.), then covered by epic clouds of dust brought down by the curtain's fall (56 n.). The final course, with its piles of wrenched and burnt bird parts (plus hare shoulders), would have seemed much too familiar to Varius, the tragedian reclining on the low space on the high couch.²⁹ His most famous work, the *Thyestes*, with its revolting heaps of human flesh served to exact revenge, had been commissioned for the Actian Games of 29 BCE, i.e. performed within months of the publication of this poem.³⁰ Thus, matching the cosmological ascent from earth to sea to sky is a generic rise that reaches a tragic

²⁸ Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.59–64, where H. compares the various types of poems he has written in the course of his career (Satires, Epodes, Odes) to a varied feast served to three finicky guests, each of whom likes one dish, but not another.

²⁹ Although it cannot be established as an indisputable fact, it is highly likely that the dismemberment and cooking of Thyestes' sons, and the serving of the meat tray, were emphasized in Varius' version of the Thyestes myth, i.e. exactly as had been the case in Accius' *Atrius*, and would again be the case in Seneca's *Thyestes*.

³⁰ Taking a different tack, Lowe 2010 draws connections between the heaped foods of the final course and the harpies of Apollonius and Virgil.

(second) high in the hastily prepared second main course, before tumbling into the abyss of comical farce at the poem's end (see 93 n.). In ending as it does, this last satire of the last book takes readers back, full circle, to where it all began: to the *conuiuia satur* image of S.1.1.117–21. In concluding that first poem, H. put an Epicurean (culinary) spin on his Callimachean refashioning of the genre. Here we have that same image literalized as his final satire's abrupt conclusion: having had their fill, the dinner guests get up and leave (signaling H.'s departure from the genre that he had redefined; see 93 n., and the volume intro. above). By insisting throughout that Maecenas notice the tiny nuances that hide from view, Nas. mirrors the concerns of poets like H., who write poems like this one, hoping that Maecenas will appreciate its oh-so subtle details, so many of which are easily overlooked.

Many of the subtlest details of this satire must forever remain hidden from our view. In the end, we can never know anything like the full story of how this poem needles Maecenas' poets, some of whom are right there in the room, because the poems that they wrote, and that are (one strongly suspects) parodically played with by this one, have been lost. Nothing remains of Varius' *Thyestes*, or of the works of Fund. or Viscus. But the biggest loss of all in this regard is one particular work by Maecenas himself. According to Servius (Serv. auct. *ad Aen.* 8.310) Maecenas wrote a *Symposium* that featured as guests none other than Virgil, Horace and Messala (see 20–6 n.). That work certainly must have mattered to this one, whether as a work referred to by it, or a work written in response to it. In either case, the loss is of huge (but by now completely hidden) significance. Just knowing whether Maecenas played the host at his own *Symposium* would necessarily inflect the way we think about Nas. in this satire, and it might help explain why Petronius chose to name his braggart host Gaius Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus. In addition to these losses, certainly relevant to this last poem of the *Sermones*, though now almost entirely lost to us, were several famous dinner party satires of Lucilius, such as the philosophers' symposium of book 28, the dinner party of Granius in book 20, with its "trencher of fattened birds" (*altitium lanx*, Lucil. fr. 601–3W = 1174–6M), and the dinner party of the rich auctioneer Gallonius in book 5, where Laelius holds forth on sorrel. Menippus of Gadara, the founder of Menippean satire, wrote at least one mock symposium, and similar mock symposia are frequently encountered in the fragments of Varro's *Saturae Menippeae* as scenes of absurd debate (see Krenkel 2002, vol. II: 393, Relihan 1993: 25–6, 65). Taken as a satiric version of comedy's vainglorious cooks, Nas. has ample precedents in Middle and New Comedy, as well as in the mock didactic of Archestratus.

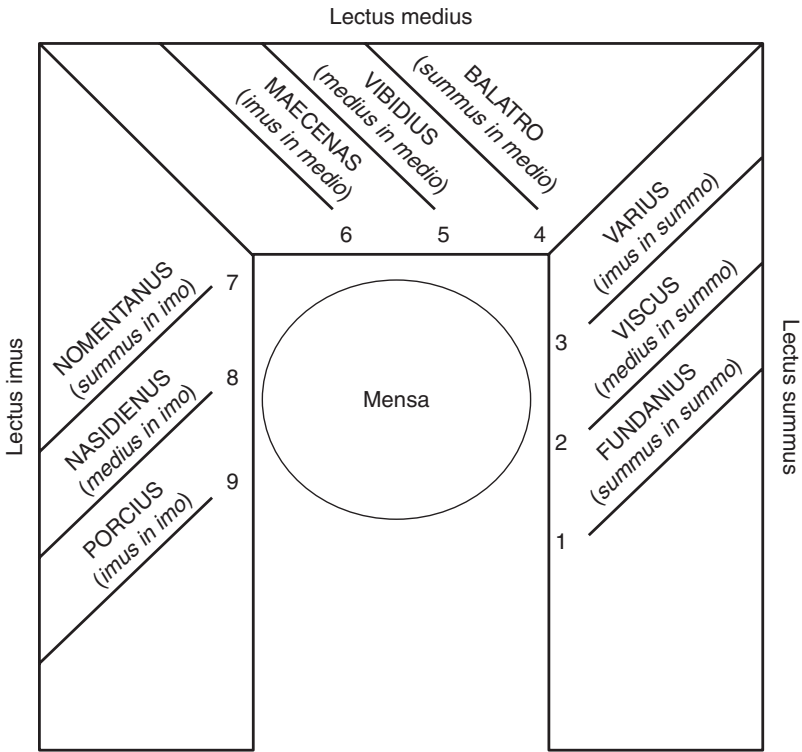


Figure 1 Triclinium of Nasidienus

While the symposia of Plato and Xenophon stand out as obvious models for this poem (their influence is noted *passim* in the commentary below), these works constitute just two of the many symposia that were known to H., but have long since been lost to us; cf. the list cited by Plutarch in the preface to his *Table Talks* (612d–e). Petronius drew heavily on the poem in creating his Trimalchio, and Juvenal his Virro (Juv. 5). The poem’s impact upon later European satire was considerable, e.g. with clear imitations in Régnier’s tenth satire (1609), Boileau’s *Le Repas ridicule* (1665) and George Ogle’s *The Miser’s Feast* (1737).

1 Nasidieni: scan as four syllables (= *Nasidjeni*). Nasidienus Rufus (for the cognomen, see line 58) is otherwise unknown. For attempts to identify

him as an enemy of Octavian, and for the further characterizing potentials of his name (“keen scented” in matters of style and “snooty” in his attitudes), see intro. above. **Vt ... iuuuit te** “how did you enjoy”? The abrupt, conversational opening is reminiscent of Platonic dialogue; see Fraenkel 1957: 136–7 and 2.4.1 n.; cf. Plat. *Ti.* 17a. The question is asked of Fund., a contemporary writer of comedies closely associated with Horace and Maecenas (S. 1.10.42). Fund.’s penchant for comic fiction is evident in his description of the feast, which he casts as a miniature comedy (see intro. above). **beati** “happy/rich” is emphasized via its postponement to the end of the line. The double meaning (cf. 2.4.95 n.) leaves one unsure whether Fund.’s description of the *cena* will focus on the physical delights of a rich man’s table or the spiritual benefits of philosophical conversation. As a reference to the philosopher’s *beata uita*; see Muecke *ad loc.* and O’Connor 1990: 24.

2 conuiuiam is in apposition to an understood *te*. **dictus:** sc. *es*, “you were said,” i.e. by someone unnamed, such as the doorkeeper at Fund.’s house. The omission of *tu* and *es* contributes to the loose, conversational tone of the satire’s opening lines; see Schütz, *ad loc.* **here** is less formal than *heri*, which gradually fell from use. Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.22 describes *heri* as archaic. **illic** “over there,” i.e. at Nas.’s house.

3-4 de: with time words = “starting at”; cf. *Ep.* 1.14.34 *media de luce*. The midday start of the carouse (*potare* indicates heavy drinking; see 7.31–2 n.) is remarkably early, and hints at the lavish scale of the *cena*, as well as its unseemly (sybaritic) moral character: cf. Juv. 1.49 *ab octaua Marius bibit*; Plaut. *As.* 825–6 *de die | potare*, Ter. *Ad.* 965, Catul. 47.6. Normally the *cena* commenced not at midday (the sixth hour), but at the end of the business day (the ninth hour) after a trip to the baths; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.26.1, Mart. 4.8.1–6, 7.51.11, 11.52.1–4; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.71. Some preferred an even later hour; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.5.3 *supremo sole* of a homespun meal. Mart. 3.36 suggests that the diligent Roman statesman might dine at the eleventh hour or later. **sic ... melius** “(I enjoyed it) so much that I’ve never had a better time in all my life”; cf. Lucil. fr. 204W = 1239M *cenasti in uita numquam bene*. **da** “tell” (*OLD* do 28). The colloquial imperative (*da* for *dic*) acquires a much loftier stylistic register in the works of Seneca, Lucan and Valerius Flaccus, based on precedents set by Virgil; see Cucchiarelli *ad Verg. Ecl.* 1.18, suggesting that the usage here may be mock heroic. **si graue non est** parodies Plat. *Ti.* 17b εἰ μὴ τί σοι χαλεπὸν (“if it doesn’t trouble you”), see Gowers 1993: 162–3.

5 iratum “growling”; cf. 2.18, *Ep.* 2.2.28–9 (connecting hunger to anger), *Epod.* 2.6 (*iratum mare* suggesting the “rumbling” of the sea). **esca:** humorously postponed to the line-end, the word is often used of animal “feed” (Cato *Agr.* 89) or a fisherman’s “bait” (Mart. 4.56.6).

6 in primis “first of all” (*OLD imprimis* 2). **Lucanus aper** “a boar from Lucania.” The boar has traveled an impressive distance to reach Nas.’s table (Lucania is a mountain district c. 360 km southeast of Rome). Like Catius in poem 4 (see 4.40–4 nn.), Nas. eschews boars more locally sourced. On Lucania as a famous hunting region in antiquity, see 3.234 n. On whole roasted boar evoking “virtuous overtones of the hunt and celebration meal of Rome’s ‘good old days’,” see Hudson 1989: 83–4. Further on the complex symbolism of Nas.’s outrageous hors-d’oeuvres (whole roasted boar served as an appetizer rather than the meal’s *pièce de résistance*), see Gowers 1993: 170–5. **leni ... austro** “in a gentle, southerly breeze.” The detail implies that Nas.’s palate was sensitive not only to the provenance of the boar (see earlier in this n. on *Lucanus aper*) but to the weather conditions of the hunt. The gourmands of satire often claim to possess such skills; cf. 2.31–3, Juv. 4.139–43.

7 ut aiebat: spoken from the standpoint of a put-upon guest whose patience is already wearing thin, the iterative imperfect implies that Nas. “was going on and on about” the importance of the southerly breeze (prev. n.). **cenae pater** “father of the feast.” The pompous title occurs only here. It is modeled on such honorific titles as *pater senatus* and *pater patriae*, designations earned through exceptional leadership and acts of valor; see *OLD pater* 5a and b, and cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1.5.5 naming Herodotus the “father of history” (*patrem historiae*) and Petr. 132.15 naming Epicurus the “father of truth” (*pater ueri*). The designation will be played upon in line 59 below (see n.). **acria circum**: Gowers 1993: 171 notes that “the surrounding garnish ... is an appropriate recreation of the boar’s natural vegetable habitat” (see poem intro. above).

8–9 The various sharp, acidic (*acria*) and salty items that surround the boar are typical of the *promulsis* or *gustatio*, served before the main courses (*fercula*): *rapula* “small turnips”; *lactucae* “lettuces”; *radices* “radishes”; *siser* “skirret” (σίσαρρον, *sium sisarum*, a sharp root vegetable, related to parsnips, parsley and celery); *allec* “fish paste”; *faecula* “wine-lees”; cf. the *gustatio* of Mart. 11.52.5–11, consisting of lettuce, leek strands, a miniature preserved tuna, leaves of rue, soft-boiled eggs, smoked cheese, and olives. Such items are served not to sate, but to sharpen or “pique” (*peruellunt*) the appetite (*stomachus*); cf. [Acro] *ad loc.* and Plin. *Nat.* 20.34. The sharpness of the dishes is emphasized by the harsh palatal sounds of lines 7–9. As pointed out by Gowers 1993: 171, there is a hidden continuity between the harsh appetizers and traditional ferocity of boar itself; cf. *Epod.* 2.31–2 *acres ... apros*, Virg. *Ecl.* 10.56 *acres uenabor apros*. **lassum** “exhausted,” i.e. from overeating; cf. 2.41–4, where Ofellus rails against those who consume radishes and bitter herbs to reawaken the appetite when full. Two

items conspicuously absent from Nas.'s appetizer tray are the traditional eggs and olives praised by Ofellus at 2.45–6.

9 faecula Coa: the sounds of archaic epic are conjured by the rare line-ending; cf. 2.100 *uectigalia magna* (see n.). Thus emphasized, the adjective captures the snooty demeanor of the host as he calls attention to the appetizer's final hidden detail: not just any lees, but lees of "Coan" wine!

10 ut "as soon as," "once" (*OLD* s.v. 26). Construe with both *pertersit* and *sublegit*. **alte cinctus** "with his tunic tucked high," i.e. going quickly about his business; cf. 6.107. **acernam:** Plin. *Nat.* 16.66–8 indicates that maple-wood tables were prized highly. Gowers 1993: 171 draws a connection between the hardness of the table (*acernam*) and the harshness of the appetizers (*acria*).

11 gausape purpureo "using a plush crimson cloth." The paradigm followed here (among several options listed in *OLD*) is *gausapes*, *is*, *m*. The exotic loanword (the Greek word γαυσάπης is itself of unknown origin; see Armisen-Marchetti 2006: 36–7) refers to a type of soft woolen cloth that was thickly napped on one or both sides. In the only earlier use of the word at Lucil., fr. 598W = 568M, the same masculine form is used (and nowhere else in Latin) to describe the same refinement at the dinner party of Granius: *purpureo tersit tunc latas gausape mensas*. In both cases, the precious cloth is dyed regal crimson and used as a common dish towel.

12–13 sublegit: Roman banqueters discarded table-scrap directly onto the floor. "Pick-up slaves" (*analectae*) were assigned to clear them away. **quodcumque ... offendere** "whatever scraps (as he said) were uselessly lying about and might annoy his guests." Although the imperfect subjunctives *iaceret* and *posset* can be taken as potential subjunctives (see Fedeli *ad loc.*), K–H and Muecke take them as marking represented speech, i.e. reflecting Nas.'s rationale for having the dining room cleaned between courses (thus "as he said" is added in parentheses above). Further on represented speech, see *NLS* §285. **ut Attica uirgo** "like an Attic virgin" refers to the *κανηφόροι* ("basket bearers") who carried τὰ ἱερά ("the sacred objects") in a solemn procession from Athens to Eleusis during the autumn festival of Demeter (Ceres). The comparison suggests that Hydaspes wore long hair and feminine attire. For the common practice of dressing young wine-stewards as girls, cf. Mart. 10.98.1–3, Sen. *Ep.* 47.7.

14 procedit suggests that the wine's entrance has been staged as a formal procession; *OLD* *procedo* 1b. **Hydaspes:** a dark-skinned (*fuscus*) slave from India, named after a river (now known as the Jhelum) in his native land. He is being shown off as an exotic luxury item from the very distant east. As the first of only three near-certain references to Indian slaves in

ancient Rome, see Parker 2008: 157–8. Hydaspes is paired with Alcon (Ἄλκων “Mighty”), a Greek slave, perhaps as dark to light, the one slave tasked with serving a strong wine, the other a light one (see next n.). Wine-servers, normally sexually attractive, prepubescent males (prev. n.), occupied a privileged position within the Roman household. They routinely bore exotic foreign names and were purchased at tremendous cost; see D’Arms 1991: 171–83. To display one such slave in one’s dining hall would have been extravagant enough. Nas.’s showmanship in choreographing the grand entrance of two of them, each in charge of his own wine, is worthy of Trimalchio.

15 Caecuba uina: poetic plural. Caecuban was a choice wine from south Latium, made from grapes grown in the coastal marshes near Formiae. It was exceptionally dry (*austerissimum*, Porph. *ad Epod.* 9.36) and “powerful” (πληκτικός, εὖτονος, Ath. 1.27a). Plin. *Nat.* 14.61 says that Caecuban was once regarded as the noblest wine of all, but that its popularity waned when Augustus declared a preference for Setian wine on the grounds that it was easier on his stomach. At *Carm.* 1.20.9 Caecuban is listed as the first of four wines admired by Maecenas, but not on offer at H.’s rustic party. At *Epod.* 9 and *Carm.* 1.37 it is a wine set aside for celebrations of victory. Further on Caecuban wine, see N–H *ad Carm.* 1.20.9 and Watson *ad Epod.* 9.1. **Chium:** wine from the island of Chios was considered the finest of all Greek wines. Virg. *G.* 2.98 calls wine grown in the hills above the Chian harbor of Phanae “the very king of wines” (*rex ipse Phanaeus*). Dalby 2000: 136 points out that Chian wine was rarely seen in Rome until the mid-first century BCE. On the literary evocations of Chian wine, see Gowers *ad* 1.10.23–4, where the mixing of Greek and Latin by Lucilius is compared to the blending of Falernian wine (strong and dry) with Chian (sweet and smooth). Clearly relevant to that comparison is the fact that a large section of the *ager Falernus* lies within the modern municipality of Suessa Aurunca, Lucilius’ hometown (see Map 2); see Goh 2018: 276, Wiseman 1969: 8. **maris expers:** grammatically the phrase may apply either to the wine or to the wine-steward: (1) “Chian wine untouched by salt,” or (2) “unmanly Alcon” (taking *maris* from *mas* “male”). Most commentators prefer the first interpretation, citing the ancient practice of using sea water to flavor and preserve the majority of Greek wines (compare the use of resins in retsina). Ath. 1.32e describes Rhodian wine as “taking part in the sea.” According to Galen, *De methodo medendi* 12.4, the best wines of Lesbos and Chios, given their extraordinary quality, were left unsalted.

Housman 1913: 28 argued that the phrase *maris expers* should be taken in reference to the wine-steward (i.e. indicating that Alcon was a “eunuch”) rather than to the wine. The case is well made, but it puts undue strain upon the semantic range of *mas*, which nowhere else is used

bluntly as a synonym for “the male member.” When used substantively, *mas* means simply “a male” of a species, sometimes in the narrower sense of “a husband.” Taken figuratively, *maris expers* (“unfamiliar with a man/husband,” i.e. “a virgin”) makes good sense applied to Alcon, implying not that he had been castrated, but that he resembles a virgin in appearance (“maidenly Alcon,” just as Hydaspes is described as *ut Attica uirgo* in line 13). For similar phrases used in this sense, cf. Eur. *Andr.* 470 “the marriage bed unfamiliar with (another) man” (ἀκοινώνητον ἀνδρὸς εὐνάν), Ov. *Met.* 1.479 *impatiens expersque viri* (describing Daphne), and Stat. *Theb.* 7.298 *expertem thalami* (describing the young Lapithaon). Virgil uses *thalami expertem* of Dido after the death of Sychaeus, and Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.11 describes the enticing yet reluctant Lyde as *nuptiarum expers*.

Given such usage, there can be little doubt that sexual connotations were heard in the phrase *maris expers*; cf. Pers. 6.38–9 *sapere ... nostrum hoc maris expers* (“this pansy taste of ours,” trans. Lee; “this emasculated know-how of ours,” trans. Braund). N–H *ad Carm.* 2.5.20 make a strong case for keeping both meanings in play, as does Gowers 1993: 171–2. The double relevance of *maris expers* (a play on words worthy of Trimalchio, and perhaps best taken as a snatch of Nas.’s punning language as he calls attention to the entrance of the wines and the wine-stewards) indicates that there is a continuity to be observed between the untouched “virginal” quality of the wine, and of the steward who serves it.

16 hic “here,” “at this point.” **Albanum ... Falernum:** sc. *uinum*. Plin. *Nat.* 14.64 ranks Alban wine third to Caecuban and Falernian; cf. Juv. 13.213–16, putting Alban and Falernian together as exceptionally fine wines. Ath. 1.33a asserts: “the most elegant wines are the Alban and Falernian from Italy.” As a choice wine for cellaring, see *Carm.* 4.11.2 and Juv. 5.33–7. See also the anecdote related by Symmachus at Macr. 2.3.2, telling how Damasippus (the protagonist of *S.* 2.3) once served Cicero forty-year-old Falernian wine which, though it was presented with much fanfare, proved to be quite mediocre. Falernian was, in the opinion of many, Italy’s finest wine; cf. Var. *R.* 1.2.6, Mart. 1.18.4. Most varieties were dry and very strong; see 4.24 n.; cf. Porph. *ad S.* 1.10.24 *austerissimo Falerno*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.9–10 *seueri Falerni*, 2.11.19 *ardentis Falerni*. Plin. *Nat.* 14.63 speaks of dry, sweet and mild varieties. As a metaphor for style (with specific applicability to Lucilius), see above 15 n. According to Plin. *Nat.* 14.97, Julius Caesar was the first to serve four wines at a banquet in 46 BCE (Falernian, Chian, Lesbian, Mamertine), having served only (a very impressive) two (Falernian and Chian) at his triumph in 60 BCE. **Maecenas:** the guest of honor. Though he is silent throughout, his presence is strongly felt in the poem. The impact of his name, casually mentioned, stirs within the curious interlocutor a desire to know the names of the other guests.

17 appositis “(more) than the wines served,” abl. of comparison. Nas. extends the offer to Maecenas alone, ignoring his less influential guests. The offer of four wines is exceptionally lavish; see prev. n. No one could possibly take offence at the wines served. Nas. makes the offer from sheer bravado, wishing to impress his guests with the holdings of his wine-cellar; cf. Trimalchio’s boast at Petr. 48.1–2 “*uinum*” inquit “*si non placet, mutabo.*”

18 diuitias miseras “ah, the miseries of money!” (acc. of exclamation). **quis cenantibus una** “who was there dining along (with you)?”, abl. absolute (*quis* = *quibus*); cf. Pl. *Phd.* 59b, where Echecrates presses Phaedo to give the entire list of names of those who were present at the death of Socrates.

19 Fundani: the narrator’s identity is finally made explicit. Previously in this book the longest distance covered before the main interlocutor is named is that of poem 3 (Damasippus is named in line 16) and the shortest that of poem 4 (Catus is named immediately in line 1). At 1.10.40–2 H. describes Fund. as a uniquely gifted writer of New Comic scripts (*comes garrire libellos | unus uiuorum*), naming him first in a list of contemporary poet friends whom he considered pre-eminent in various genres of poetry. The language of the description suggests that Fund. wrote on traditional New Comic themes, and was a master of refined comic banter. Not a line of his work survives, and he is otherwise unknown. **pulcre fuerit tibi** “you had such a grand time,” *OLD pulchre* 2b; cf. 3–4 *mihi numquam in uita fuerit melius*. For *pulchre* used of feasting and pampered living, cf. Plaut. *Mer.* 582–3, Mart. 12.17.9. **nosse laboro** “I am in pain/dying to know” (*nosse* = *nouisse*, perfect with present force) invokes the language, while trivializing the substance, of the philosopher’s thirst for knowledge; see Gowers 1993: 164 and prev. n.

20–6 The typical Roman dining room (*triclinium*) consisted of three couches (*lecti*) arranged around a central table (*mensa*) to form three sides of an open-ended square (see Figure 1). The terms top, middle and bottom (*summus*, *medius*, *imus*) apply both to the couches and to the separate reclining spaces (*loca*) available on each couch. In this arrangement the usual place for the host was *summus in imo* (position 7, here occupied not by Nas., but by Nomentanus; see 25 n.), while the guest of honor reclined *imus in medio* (position 6); cf. Mart. 6.74.1 *medio recumbit imus ille qui lecto*. The remaining *loca* of the lowest couch were reserved for adult members of the host’s family or, as here, his lesser *amici* and/or freedmen. The middle and top couches were filled at the discretion of the guest of honor; cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.3 (619b–e) where the topic of discussion concerns why the Romans refer to the last place on the middle couch as “the consul’s spot” (ὁ τόπος ὑπατικὸς). For the traditional order of precedence in the *triclinium*, see Vössing 2004: 227–34 and Courtney *ad Juv.* 3.81.

Fund. describes the distribution of the diners in precise order, moving from the highest seat on the top couch (1) to the lowest seat on the bottom (9); see Figure 1 and next n. Although complete guest lists are fairly common in Roman poetry (e.g. Mart. 10.48.5–6; Juv. 4.72–118) this passage constitutes the only place in all of Latin literature where all diners are both named and matched to their specific places, each occupying one of an ideal nine, hierarchically arranged reclining spaces of a Roman triclinium. Contrast the difficulties of working out the precise arrangement of Trimalchio's *cena*, on which see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 26.7. Following the partially described seating arrangements of Plato *Symp.* 174e–76a and Xen. *Symp.* 1.1–13, Lucilius seems to have given a mere sketch of the diners' distribution at the philosophers' symposium of book 28 (fr. 815W = 751M *Chremes in medium, in summum ierat Demaenetus*). Citing the one fragment that remains of Maecenas' *Symposium*, Serv. auct. *ad Aen.* 8.310 provides a short, but extremely impressive, list of the guests who took part in the banquet of that lost work: Virgil, Horace, Messala (see the poem intro. above). The only other description of diners at a Roman *cena* that rivals this one for its completeness and precision is that of Sal. *Hist.* fr. III 83 M (Servius *ad Aen.* 1.698 *mediamque locavit*), which gives the exact spot occupied by each diner (seven rather than nine) at the dinner party where Sertorius was murdered in 73 BCE. Oddly (though perhaps meaningfully) among the guests at that dinner was a scribe occupying the middle spot on the low couch, named Maecenas (*scriba Maecenas in imo medius*). Although usually considered a client of the equestrian family to which Maecenas, his considerably more famous namesake, belonged, Purcell 2001: 647–8 suggests that he may have actually been a member of the family.

20–1 summus: i.e. *summus in summo* “highest on the top couch.” **Viscus Thurinus:** Viscus of Thurii. Viscus is named along with Varius as a member of Maecenas' circle of poet friends at 1.9.22–3, and as one of two brothers whose criticism H. valued at 1.10.83. Nothing further is known about the man or his poetry. His placement between a comic poet and a tragedian might be taken to suggest that he was a dramatist as well. The designation *Thurinus* “from Thurii” (a city of Magna Graecia on the Gulf of Tarentum) perhaps hints at a connection with South Italian or Greek Middle Comedy – Alexis, the most famous poet of Greek Middle Comedy, was from Thurii. **si memini:** given the extraordinary memory that Fund. puts on display in these lines (see prev. n.), the disclaimer “if I recall” stands out as particularly disingenuous. In written *symposia*, the problem of the teller's memory (always preternaturally prodigious and in need of explanation) is often raised; cf. Plat. *Symp.* 172a–173c, Macr. 1.2.2. Marchesi 2005 suggests that Fund.'s memory work in this poem is

based on that of Simonides, who famously remembered the exact seating arrangement of all participants at a party where the ceiling collapsed, crushing everyone beyond recognition. **Varius:** L. Varius Rufus, one of H.'s oldest friends, and a respected member of Maecenas' coterie. In his youth, Varius studied under Philodemus in Naples, along with his fellow students Plotius, Virgil and Quintilius Varus. The four men are addressed as a group at least three times in Philodemus' treatise *On Flattery* (*P. Herc. Paris.* 2); see Gigante 2004: 85–8. At *S.* 1.10.43–4 H. describes Varius as a writer of martial epic (*forte epos acer | ut nemo Varius ducit*), and at *Carm.* 1.6.1–2 he recommends him to Agrippa as “the swan of Homeric song” (*Maeonii carminis alite*). No epic title survives under his name. His hexameter poem *De morte* is commonly thought to have relied heavily on Philodemus' *On Death*; see Hollis 2007: 263. The work for which he is best known (and for which he received a million sesterces from Octavian) is the *Thyestes*, a tragedy written to celebrate Octavian's victory at Actium, thought to have been performed at the Actian Games of 29 BCE (i.e. within mere months of this poem). Further on the works of Varius, see Cairns 2004: 312–13. **Seruilio Balatrone:** *Seruilio* (three syllables); cf. *Nasidieni* in line 1. The name (“Servile Cadger”) is an indication of character. Outside of this poem, the word *balatro* is securely attested only twice in classical Latin (*S.* 1.2.2, Var. *R.* 2.5.1), both times as a noun rather than a personal name – but cf. other possible instances at Lucr. 3.955 where Heinsius proposed reading *balatro* for *baratre*, and Hor. *S.* 2.3.166 where Bentley (supported by [Acro] *ad loc.*, who read *balatroni*) proposed *balatrone* for *barathrone*. The explanations of [Acro] *ad* 1.2.2 and 2.3.166 hover around ideas of reckless free speech (deriving *balatro* from *blatero* “blather”) and bottomless appetite (deriving *balatro* from Greek βάραθρον, a proverbial “bottomless pit”), i.e. like the *scurra* of comedy, the *balatro* uses flippant and abrasive speech to earn a place at a rich man's table. For such characters featured as provocateurs at philosophical symposia, cf. Xen. *Symp.* 1.11–13, Macr. 1.7.2.

22 Vibidius is otherwise unknown. He and Balatro work as a pair (see 83 n.). A connection with Atellan farce is perhaps suggested by his name: the *nomina gentilicia* Vibius and Vibidius (also spelled Vibeidius) are of Oscan origin, and appear frequently in Campanian inscriptions. **quas** takes its gender from *umbras*: “whom Maecenas brought along as shadows.” **umbras** “shadows,” “tag-alongs,” are guests invited not by the host, but by the principal guest; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.5 where H. invites Torquatus, the guest of honor, to dine with him, joined by three other guests already invited (Septicius, Butra and Sabinus). This leaves room for Torquatus to invite whatever “shadows” he chooses to bring along (*locus est et pluribus umbris*, 28), but H. kindly requests that he not bring

along too many. In his comment *ad Ep.* 1.5.28 [Acro] defines *umbrae* as *quos secum ducunt, qui rogantur ad prandium*. Further on *umbrae* at Roman banquets, see Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.6 (707a), discussing the topic of uninvited guests “who are now called shadows” (οὓς νῦν σκιὰς καλοῦσιν), and Vössing 2004: 222–3.

23 Nomentanus: already in the first satire of book one, the name is a byword for reckless expenditure and self-indulgence; see 1.1.102 (with Gowers’ note), 1.8.11, and nn. above at 1.22, 3.175, 3.224. Sen. *De vita beata* 11.4 names Nomentanus and Apicius together as food experts, devoted to the pleasures of the table. **super ipsum** “above the master himself” (*OLD ipse* 12). Nomentanus reclines in the spot traditionally reserved for the host (see 25 n.). **Porcius** occupies the low seat on the bottom couch, the place of jesters; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.10–11 *imi | derisor lecti*. Taken together, the trio on the low couch resembles the disparaged dining trio of Catul. 47: the Epicurean host, Piso (L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus), along with his two “left hands,” Porcius (perhaps Gaius Porcius Cato) and “Little Socrates” (perhaps Philodemus). For these identifications (attractive, but far from certain), see Sider 1997: 232–4 and Godwin 1999: 166.

24 ridiculus ... absorbere “ridiculous in gulping down.” For the adj. + inf. construction, see 7.85 n.; cf. 1.3.24, 1.4.8. **semel** “in a single go.”

25 ad hoc “for this purpose” introduces a relative clause expressing purpose; cf. 1.36–7 (see n.). Nomentanus could underscore the finer points of the feast from either of the lower seats on the low couch, but this would distance him from Maecenas. Because Nas. is anxious to show him off to his famous guest as his own personal dining guru, and an enthusiastic veteran of his *recherché* foods and fine wines, he positions him *summus in imo* (7 in Figure 1), where he himself would otherwise be expected to recline. The expertise possessed by Nomentanus is that of comic cooks and parasites, such as Chaerephon, the parasite hero of Matron’s mock epic, “an expert in meals furnished by others” (Ath. 4.134f); cf. Lucian *Par.* 5 where the parasite’s art includes “knowing the virtues and vices of delicacies.”

26 nam cetera turba “for the remaining rabble,” i.e. “the rest of us nobodies” (*OLD turba* 3). Unlike Nomentanus and Porcius, Fund. and his companions are first-time guests at Nas.’s table, and thus uninitiated in the finer subtleties of the foods being served.

27 nos, inquam “we ourselves, I mean,” referring to the guests brought to the *cena* by Maecenas. For this use of *inquam*, see *OLD inquam* 2c, and above 7.22 (see n.). **cenamus:** historic present.

28 celantia: neuter pl., in apposition to the nouns of different genders which precede. Fund.’s construal of foods (as if visually) “concealing”

their secrets from the common crowd (26 n.) parodies the language of mystery cult, and puts Nomentanus, as the expert who “shows” these secrets to Maecenas (*si quid forte lateret ... monstraret*), in the role of Maecenas’ personal hierophant; cf. above 4.10–12 nn. On “seeing” and “showing” as fundamental components of initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Bremmer 2014:15. For similar imagery in Lucretius (Fund. is perhaps parodying the language of Lucretian didactic), see Gale 1994: 193–4.

29 uel “for instance.” **patuit** continues the language of mystic revelation (prev. n.). **passeris**: a type of flatfish similar to the *rhombus* “turbot.” On the literary connotations of rhombus, see above 2.94–6 n.

30 ingustata “previously un-tasted,” sc. by the speaker. The word occurs nowhere else in extant Latin. H. is particularly prolific and inventive in his use/coinage of perfect passive participles with the privative prefix *in-*; see Brink 1982: 432–4 on *Ep.* 2.1.223 *irreuocati*. **mihi**: take with both the participle and the verb (*apo koinou*). **ilia** “loins.” K–H, Lejay and others, take this to mean “roe” (a meaning otherwise unattested) because flatfish are not known to possess “loins,” nor do they have choice “cuts” (*OLD ilia* 1d). But that is precisely the point. Elsewhere, when used of meat, the term applies to the choicest cuts, such as the tenderloin of roast boar, e.g. Mart. 10.45.4, Juv. 5.135–6. Only here is the word comically misapplied to fish, i.e. the pretentious “tenderloin of flatfish” is a snatch of the food expert’s language, mocking Nas.’s claim to have isolated the tenderest part of a superbly tender fish; cf. Arcestratus fr. 24 Olson–Sens (Ath. 7.310c) “when in the city of the Toronaean you must buy the hollow underbelly of dog-shark, the lower part of it.”

31–2 docuit suggests a learned disquisition. **melimela** “honey apples” (Gk μελίμηλα), so called because of their extraordinary sweetness. **minorem | ad lunam delecta** “picked beneath the light of a waning moon” (*OLD ad* 19b). As the first of several allusions to witchcraft in the poem, see Freudenburg 1995: 209–10; cf. Dido’s moonlit “harvest” of herbs at *Aen.* 4.513: *messae ad lunam quaeruntur*. Cato Agr. 40.1 recommends grafting fruit trees under a moonlit sky, in the absence of a south wind. **ipso**: Nomentanus.

33 audieris: jussive subjunctive, to be taken closely with *melius*: “you’d better hear it from the man himself.” For the construction, see 4.27 n. Fund. is unable to recollect the lecturer’s abstruse line of reasoning. **tum** “at that point,” i.e. having just been treated to Nomentanus’ disquisition on the harvesting of honey apples.

34 damnose “ruinously,” i.e. causing financial ruin (*damnum*) to the host. **bibimus**: present with future force; cf. *S.* 2.7.34. **moriemur inulti**: mock heroic; cf. Cassandra at Aesch. Ag. 1284 “we shall not die without

vengeance from the gods,” Aeneas addressing Anchises at Virg. *Aen.* 2.670 *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti*, Dido on her pyre at 4.659–60 *moriemur inultae | sed moriamur*. Though recognizable as grandiloquent language, the phrase cannot be traced to any specific source in epic or tragedy (the latter is more likely); see Horsfall 2008 *ad Aen.* 2.670.

35 calices poscit maiores: coupled with the prospect of exacting revenge, the request parodies the hero’s call for weapons in epic; cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.295 “(Hector) called for his long spear,” Virg. *Aen.* 12.326 (Turnus) *poscit equos atque arma*, Stat. *Theb.* 10.911 (the raging gods) *tela ultricia poscit*. Vibidius wants to speed things along and get to the heavy drinking. Normally the call for large(r) cups signaled the end of the banquet proper and the beginning of serious drinking (*comissatio*); cf. Alcaeus fr. 346 L-P. On the call for large cups as a traditional theme of sympotic poetry, see Watson *ad Epod.* 9.33; as “a common request at riotous affairs,” see Schmeling *ad Petr.* 65.8; cf. esp. Plato *Symp.* 212e–213e where Alcibiades, already drunk, checks his initial demand for bigger cups by deciding to drink straight from the (half-gallon) wine-cooler (ψυκτήρ).

However routine such requests are in sympotic settings, Vibidius’ call for bigger cups oversteps the limits of proper behavior, since it is not appropriate for a mere “tag-along” to speak up the way Vibidius does. The bold request suggests that he, like his party-crashing counterparts in Plato (Alcibiades) and Petronius (Habinnas), is already drunk and losing control. Drinking and conversation at the *cena* normally followed rules dictated by the host and the principal guest(s), not by the *umbrae*; cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.2 (616e) describing formal banquets where conversations and discourses “conform with the order of the guests’ seating (ἀκολουθήσουσι τῇ κατακλίσει)”; also Juv. 5.129–31: “who among you is so reckless, who so bottomed out, that he’d say ‘have a drink’ to the host? There are lots of things that men in moth-eaten clothes don’t dare utter.” On the common presumption that the cultural and moral status of *umbrae* was low, see Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.6 (707d). **uertere** “changes.” The historical infinitive underscores the sudden panic that grips Nas. upon hearing Vibidius’ request; see 6.113–14 n. For pallor signaling fear in epic warriors, cf. Hom. *Il.* 7.479, 10.376, Luc. 7.129.

36 parochi “the supply officer,” i.e. Nasidienus. The term normally refers to one commissioned to supply public officials and their staff with basic necessities; see Gowers *ad* 1.5.46. Here, besides hinting at the vast hunger and thirst of Vibidius and Balatro (as if Nas. were now compelled to “feed an army”), the term figures Nas.’s relationship to Maecenas as that of a local “distinguished citizen” pathetically attempting to entertain one of Rome’s most powerful statesmen. **acres** “hard” in the sense of “hefty” (*OLD* s.v. 14).

37 maledicunt liberius “they abuse too freely.” By convention, *scurrae* were heavy drinkers, funny and ingratiating when sober, abusive when drunk; cf. the abusive drunkard (a fourth guest crammed onto a three-person couch) of *S.* 1.4.85-101; also Maenius at *Ep.* 1.15.30 *quaelibet in quibus opprobria fingere saeuus*. On the call for *calices amariores* at *Catul.* 27.2 marking the transition to abusive speech in the poems that follow, see Wiseman 1969: 7-8, Skinner 2007: 45.

38 feruida “strong,” “intoxicating” (*OLD feruidus* 5). **subtile exsurdant ... palatum** “deaden [lit. ‘deafen’] the discriminating palate.”

39 Allifanis: *Allifanum*, -i, n. [Acro] *ad loc.* explains that the word refers to an exceptionally large wine-cup manufactured at Allifae (modern Alife, in the Volturno valley). The cups in question are otherwise unattested. **uinaria:** sc. *uasa*, comic exaggeration. The term refers not to the *lagoenae* “flasks” that were distributed among the guests, but to large clay vessels that were used for making and storing wine. Determined to drink *Nas.* to ruin, *Vibidius* and *Balatro* are said to “overturn entire casks into their cups.” The line recalls *Lucil.* fr. 132W = 139M *uertitur oenophori fundus, sententia nobis*; cf. *Alcibiades* draining the half-gallon wine-cooler at *Plato Symp.* 213e (see 35 n.).

41 nihilum: internal accusative. The guests of the bottom couch “did no harm at all to their wine-flasks.” *Nomentanus* and *Porcius*, however thirsty, cannot risk offending their patron, with whom they regularly dine. The other guests are obliged not to *Nas.*, but to *Maecenas*.

42-53 Preceded by 41 lines, and followed by 42, the presentation of the main course occupies the literal center of the poem itself (*Joseph Solodow per litteras*).

42 affertur: with food words = “serve up”; cf. *S.* 2.6.109, *Juv.* 5.87. **inter:** here follows its object. **murena** “moray.” The word is positioned between “swimming prawns” (*squillas ... natantes*) to suggest the visual layout of the dish itself; cf. *uagos pisces* set between *angusto ... catino* at 4.77. The moray eel ranked with prawns and mullet as among the most costly and pretentious of luxury foods; cf. *Var. R.* 3.17.3, *Col.* 8.16.10, *Plin. Nat.* 9.170. It is possible that the cooked flycatchers of *Lucil.* fr. 1109-10W = 978-9M that are mysteriously said to “flit about” (*circumuolitant*) were similarly positioned along the edges of a plate where they “fluttered about” some larger item in the center (likely a much larger bird).

43 porrecta “stretched out” alludes to the impressive length of the eel; cf. 2.39 (see n.). **sub hoc** “just after this” (*OLD sub* 24). *Nas.* is quick to make his point.

44 deterior post partum carne futura “since the flesh would have been inferior (if it had been caught) after spawning.” *carne* is ablative of

specification with *deterior*. For this use of the future participle in an elliptical condition, see Adams 2016: 259.

45 his “from the following ingredients,” ablative of material (thus *oleo, garo, uino*, etc., are all in the ablative case). **prima**: the first pressing produced the finest (extra-virgin) oil. The adjective has been transferred from the activity of the oil chamber (the *prima pressura*) to the chamber itself, as if to say “a first-press chamber,” rather than “a first-press oil.” The transference, typical of loftier genres, such as epic (see Conte 2007), is absurd in this context. **Venafri**: see 4.69 n.

46 garo: a pungent sauce made from fermented salt fish, used both as a condiment and in the creation of certain medicinal solutions. The best *garum* came from New Carthage in coastal Hispania, and was notoriously expensive; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 31.94 *nec liquor ullus paene praeter unguenta maiore in pretio esse coepit*. Similar sauces are still produced in the Mediterranean (*pissala* in France, *garos* in Greece and Turkey), and manufactured on an industrial scale in Vietnam (*nuoc-mam*) and Thailand (*nam-pla*). On the manufacture and use of *garum* in antiquity see Curtis 1991.

47 citra mare nato: a grand style periphrasis that amounts to “native Italian.”

48 coquitur (cocto “while (the sauce) is cooking, but once it has cooked.” Nas. insists that each ingredient of the sauce be added at its proper stage; cf. the multiple stages of Catius’ sauce recipe at 4.63–9 (see 4.64 n.). Here the separate stages are distinguished via the immediate resumption of the verb by the participle, a device rare in H.; see Wills 311–25. The two other uses of the device in this book (of only five total instances in all of H.) are at 3.104 and 3.133–4. **non sine aceto** “with a healthy measure of vinegar.” The litotes implies a liberal portion, as at 87 below; see OLS 686–7.

50 quod ... uuam “which has altered the grapes of Methymna with fermentation [lit. ‘spoiling’],” a showy way of saying “vinegar made from Lesbian wine.” Methymna, the chief city of Lesbos, was famous for its wine; see N–H *ad Carm.* 1.17.21. Perhaps to make a point that he prefers Chian wine, Nas. uses wine from Lesbos to make vinegar. **uitio mutauerit** = *uitiauerit*; cf. 2.58 *mutatum ... uinum*, referring to wine that has turned to vinegar.

51–2 erucas uirides “green rockets,” an especially bitter and biting ancestor of modern rocket/arugula. It was a reputed aphrodisiac: “this vegetable is obviously heating, so that it is not easy to eat on its own without mixing some lettuce leaves with it. But it has also been believed to generate semen, and to stimulate the sexual drive” (Galen *On Foodstuffs* 639, trans. Powell 2003); cf. *Mor.* 84, Col. 10.1.372, Mart. 3.75.3, *Priap.* 46.7–8.

The leaves and seeds of rocket appear in several "Apician" recipes, including one sauce recipe, [Apicius] *De re coquinaria* 9.10. **inulas** "elecampane," another sharp/bitter ingredient that was used as a stimulant; see 2.44 n.; cf. Lucr. 2.429-30 explaining the peculiar capacity of elecampane *titillare sensus* as an instance of atomic asperity. Plin. *Nat.* 19.92 suggests that Julia Augusta, best known for her sexual indiscretions, included elecampane in her daily diet. **ego primus ... monstraui** "I was the first to show" implies that the recipe was copied by others; cf. Catius' boasts at 4.46 and 73-4 *ego ... ego primus*. For *monstrare* used of pioneering figures who reveal deep truths and/or "show" new ways of doing things, see Brink *ad Ars* 74; cf. Lucr. 5.1105-6. For the poetic connotations of such *ego primus* claims, see 1.62-3, 4.73-5 nn., and cf. similar claims made by poets at Lucr. 5.336-7, Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.23-4, Prop. 3.1.3-4, Virg. *G.* 3.10-14, Ov. *Pont.* 4.3.11-17. **incoquere** "cook into (the sauce)." **Curtillus**: unknown, sc. *monstravit incoquere*.

53 ut ... remittat "seeing how whatever (liquid) the sea shell releases is better than brine." For causal *ut* ("in accordance with the fact that"), see *OLD ut* 21 and *NLS* §253, n. 3. The MSS are divided evenly between *remittit* and *remittat*. The subjunctive does not necessarily imply that the explanatory statement is to be assigned to Curtillus (it can be taken as generalizing the relative clause, as in the trans. above), but it allows for that possibility. In the end, the sense of either *remittit* ("that which the shell releases") or *remittat* ("whatever the shell releases") is appropriate, and the difference is negligible.

There is an unspoken contrast being made by Nas. between the liquid of the "sea shell" (*marina testa*) and that of the "canning jar" (*testa*) in which fish were pickled in *muria* ("fish brine," see 4.65 n.). Nas. supports using unwashed urchins, as Curtillus had done, not merely because he thinks the resulting sauce more flavorful, but because he thinks it is more natural; cf. Catius' natural solution for tempering wine at 4.52-3, and his pigeon-egg strainer at 4.54-7.

54 interea ... ruinas is reminiscent of epic narrative; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 415 Sk. *interea fax occidit Oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra*; Virg. *Aen.* 2.250 *uertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox*, 3.508 *sol ruit interea*. The solemn *graves ruinas* lends an absurdly cataclysmic dimension to the falling of the *aulaea* "tapestries." Before its use here, the phrase *facere ruinam/ruinas* "to come crashing down" occurs at Lucr. 1.740 (comparing unsound philosophical theories to collapsing towers), and 6.572-3 (describing the ruin caused by earthquakes); cf. Curt. 4.15.16. Hung from the ceiling, the *aulaea* form a canopy over the dining space. For tapestries as symbols of luxury and excess, see N-R *ad Carm.* 3.29.15. Regarding the tapestries of Dido's banquet (Virg. *Aen.* 1.697), Barchiesi 1993: 353 points out that "the most

common use of the word in Latin denotes curtains in a theater.” On the theatrical associations of Nas.’s falling curtains, see Gowers 1993: 164–5.

56 quantum non = *maius quam*. **Aquilo** “the North wind,” proverbially wintry and violent. **Campanis ... agris**: ablative of separation with *excitat*; cf. Sal. Jug. 79.6 *uentus harenam humo excitauit*. The description recalls the elaborate dust similes of epic, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 3.10–14.

57 maius “something greater” here implies “something worse.”

58 erigimur “we pick ourselves up.” For the middle use of the passive, see *OLS* 260–4. **Rufus** is commonly assumed (already by [Acro] *ad loc.*) to be Nas.’s cognomen. Lowe 2010: 253–4 suggests that the reference may, in fact, be to Varius, noting (*pace* Muecke) that *Rufus* is known to have been his cognomen, and that he has already been introduced. But the lines immediately following make clear that the *Rufus* in question must be Nasidienus.

59 immaturus “premature(ly).” The predicate adjective functions as an adverb.

fleere: historic infinitive; cf. 35 n. Nas.’s grief for his fallen eel recalls that of Achilles for Patroclus at Hom. *Il.* 23.222 and that of L. Crassus, who, according to Macr. 3.15.4, grieved over the death of his favorite eel “as for a daughter” (*tamquam filiam luxit*); cf. Plin. *Nat.* 9.172, Var. *R.* 3.17.6–9. **esset**: the imperfect subjunctive represents a past possibility considered from a present point of view. Its use in past unreal conditions, where one normally expects the pluperfect tense, is relatively common in Republican Latin. See *NLS* §121 and 199.

60 finis: sc. *fleendi*. **sapiens** is ironic, “Mr. Stolid Philosopher.” The epithet thrusts Nomentanus into the role of the Stoic sage (*sapiens*), renowned for his imperturbability and indifference to disaster. The emotional outburst of 61–3 humorously subverts the image.

61 tolleret “lift” in the sense of “hearten” (*OLD* s.v. *ga*).

62 illudere: lit. “to make sport/a spectacle (*ludus*) of,” takes the dative *rebus* as its object.

63 mappa: ablative of means. Varius, whose hexameter poem *De morte* treated attitudes toward death, and proper methods of coping and consolation (see 20–1 n.), stifles his laughter by burying his face in his napkin; cf. Xen. *Symp.* 1.16 where the buffoon Philip covers his head and begins to weep, causing Critobulus to burst out laughing.

64 suspendens ... naso “suspending everything from his nose,” i.e. peering down on the proceedings with an ironic and contemptuous sneer. The metaphor is unique to H. (Pers. 1.116–18 uses it to describe H. via his signature metaphor – see poem intro. above). In stark contrast to Varius, who suffers a paroxysm of laughter, Balatro conceals his ridicule beneath a web of helpful encouragement, charming his host in the

very process of mocking him. In this he resembles Socrates, whom Sen. *Ben.* 5.6.6 describes as *uir facetus et cuius per figuras* (“innuendo,” *OLD figura* 11b) *sermo procederet, derisor omnium, maxime potentium, maluit illi nasute* (“with irony”) *negare quam contumaciter aut superbe*. Plin. *Nat.* 11.158 makes the nose expressive not of derision *per se*, but of *subdola irrisio*, i.e. ironic, understated mockery; cf. Sen. *Suas.* 7.12 *Cestius, homo nasutissimus, dissimulauit*. For the nose as expressive of contemptuous derision and class-conscious condescension, cf. Phaed. 4.7.1–2, Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.80. Alex. *De fig.* 2.23.8 lists μυκτηρισμός (“turning up the nose,” “sneering”) as one of the four “ironies.” Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.59 defines *mycterismos* as *dissimulatus quidem sed non latens derisus*; cf. *Anthologia Graeca* 9.188.5 Σωκρατικῶ μυκτηρῖ (“Socratic irony”), and Lucian *Prom. Es.* 1 “take care that no one detect in your praise irony and an Attic sneer” (εἰρωνείαν ... καὶ μυκτηρᾶ οἶον τὸν Ἀττικόν).

65–74 Balatro, Maecenas’ “shadow,” saves the day by reviving Nas., and inspiring him to press on in the face of “disaster” (see 71–2 n.). He helpfully re-describes the eel’s demise in Epicurean terms, i.e. not as Fortuna’s vindictive act (i.e. as bewailed by Nomentanus), but as evidence for life’s essential instability in a material universe where random disasters (*casus ... ruant ... lapsus frangat*, 71–2) mock all pretensions to stability, neatness and arrangement (*conditum ... praecincti recte ... comptique*, 69–70); cf. Epicurus at Diog. Laert. 10.134 “he (the wise man) conceives of chance neither as a god, as the masses suppose (for a god does nothing marked by disorder), nor as a cause, however uncertain.” For *ruina* as a term invested with a strong Epicurean valence, see Lucr. 1.1107, 2.1145, 6.572, and Reid *ad Cic. Fin.* 1.18.

65 *condicio uiuendi* “a condition of living,” i.e. “the deal [*OLD condicio* 3] that life offers.” To both mock and console Nas. over the loss of his eel, Balatro deploys the standard language and tropes of a formal *consolatio*; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.59 discussing the usual consolations that are offered by friends in the aftermath of disaster: *itaque dicuntur nonnulli in maerore cum de hac communi hominum condicione audiuisent, ea lege esse nos natos, ut nemo in perpetuum esse posset expers mali*. Even more telling is *Tusc.* 3.77 *erit igitur in consolationibus prima medicina docere aut nullum malum esse aut admodum paruum; altera et de communi condicione uitae*; cf. similar consolatory tropes used by Seneca at *Ep.* 91.8–15. **eoque** “and for this reason,” i.e. rejecting Nomentanus’ claim that *Fortuna* is a divine, calculating entity.

66 *responsura ... labori* “your fame will never be an even match for your toil” (*OLD respondeo* 8b). **par**: the adjective (nom. fem. sing., agreeing with *fama*) is used predicatively.

67 *tene ... torquier* “imagine, you torturing yourself so that I might enjoy a sumptuous reception!” The archaic passive infinitive is a lofty

Lucretian touch (E. J. Kenney *per litteras*; cf. eight instances of the inf. in *-ier* in *De rerum natura* book 1 alone). The exclamatory question with subject accusative expresses disbelief that borders on mock outrage; see 4.83 n. The emphatic juxtaposition of *te* and *ego* underscores the obvious irony of Balatro's claim: he was, in fact, not invited by Nas. His words recall both the language (*tene asymbolum uenire!*) and the sentiments of the parasite Phormio at Ter. *Ph.* 339–40 “imagine, you [sc. the parasite] coming here and contributing nothing ... while he [the host] is eaten up by care and expense!”

68 sollicitudine districtum “distraught with worry.” The phrase functions as a verb of fearing followed by *ne*. Such disquiet of mind is the inverse of Epicurean *ataraxia*; cf. Lucr. 3.1049 *sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem*.

71–2 casus “disasters.” The otherwise formidable term is trivialized here by being misapplied to minor mishaps. Via examples of things that “fall” and crash, Balatro reduces *casus* to its literal sense; cf. Lucr. 1.740–1, and see Kenney *ad* Lucr. 3.983 where *casus* implies both “mischance” and “fall.” **pede lapsus** “losing his footing.” *pede* is ablative of specification. **agaso** “groom,” “stable-hand.” The term refers not to a domestic servant, but a subservient member of a Roman general's military entourage; cf. Plaut. *Mer.* 852, Enn. *Ann.* 427 Sk., Liv. 7.14.7. The waiter's clumsiness has earned him a contemptuous epithet. But the term further indicates that Balatro has a unique view of Nas.'s relationship to his guests, i.e. imagining him (and thereby flatteringly inviting Nas. to imagine himself) in the role of a Roman general in charge of an “army” of wine-stewards, waiters, cooks, etc., who are engaged in an epic struggle to roll out a perfectly executed feast. The outcome of this struggle, Balatro suggests, depends ultimately on the sure-footedness of even the lowliest *agaso*.

73–4 sed ... secundae “but, as with a general so with a feast-marshal: adversity exposes talent, while success obscures it.” Balatro rounds off his Epicurean consolation by adapting the maxim of Lucr. 3.55–8, where it is argued that difficult circumstances strip away pretense and reveal one's true inner character. The aphorism existed in many versions; cf. Cato *Origines* book 5, fr. 87 Cornell: *aduorsae res edomant et docent, quid opus siet facto. secundae res laetitia transuorsum trudere solent a recte consulendo*. In a military context, cf. Luc. 3.614 *creuit in aduersis uirtus*. In reference to the poet's exile, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.79–80. **conuiuatoris** “feast-marshal,” first used here, built on analogy with military titles such as *imperator*, *dictator*, *gubernator*.

75 preceris: the potential subjunctive, while not required, is extremely polite. The blessing “may the gods grant whatever you wish” is common; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 208–9, Ter. *Ad.* 978. Here such a blessing seems incongruous, since Balatro has just made a grand show of his Epicurean beliefs. What

does it mean for Nas. to wish that Balatro (an Epicurean) receive from the gods whatever he prays for? Either Nas. is tone deaf, having failed to catch the ironic undertones of the *consolatio*, or he has caught on to them only too well (paying back Balatro, irony for irony); cf. the double-edged “blessing” of Plaut. *Ps.* 936–7: *tantum tibi boni di immortales duint quantum tu tibi optes* – | *nam si exoptem, quantum dignu’s tantum dent, minus nihilo sit.*

76 ita: explains the preceding wish, “for being such a good man and refined guest”; cf. Plaut. *Per.* 622 *ah, di istam perdant! ita catast et callida.*

77–8 soleas poscit: sandals were removed before reclining at table. **tum ... susurros** “then you could see whispers buzzing on every couch, with ears drawn aside to take in secrets.” The alliteration of *s*’s and *r*’s reproduces the sounds of a hushed murmur; cf. the sleep-inducing “whisper” of buzzing bees at Virg. *Ecl.* 1.55 *saepe leui somnum suadebit inire susurro*. **uideres:** the imperfect subjunctive expresses a past (un-realized) potential; cf. 59 n. For *uidere* referring to aural perception, see *OLD* s.v. 9b, N–H *ad Carm.* 1.14.6. Esp. relevant here are Lucr. 4.595–614, describing how words become muddled and unintelligible as they pass through walls, and Virg. *G.* 4.555–6, where those witnessing the miracle “see” the buzzing of bees (*aspiciunt ... stridere apes*). **secreta:** transferred from the secretive words that were spoken to the ears that received them, the adjective describes the “hush-hush” manner in which the words were eagerly received; cf. the same transference (enallage) at Pers. 5.96 *secretam garrir in aurem*.

79 nullos ... spectasse “there’s not a show at the theater I’d rather have seen!” Besides underscoring the connection of this satire to comedy (see poem intro.), the claim is itself drawn from the conventions of comedy; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 760–1, *Ps.* 552. **mallem:** see *uideres*, prev. n.

80 deinceps “next,” scan as two syllables.

80–3 Drunk, and fishing for laughs, Vibidius berates the slaves for being slow with the wine; cf. Petr. 41.10 (inspired by this passage), where the freedman Dama finds his voice, barking out drunken orders for larger wine-cups as soon as Trimalchio leaves the room. **dumque ... secundo** “and while he [Vibidius] gets laughs for his improvisations, with Balatro playing second man.” **ridetur:** impersonal passive (as noted by Palmer and Lejay *ad loc.*). But the verb can also be construed with a personal subject (as in the trans. above). See Gowers *ad* 1.7.22–3; cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.251. **fictis rerum:** *fictis* is ablative of source, *rerum* objective genitive (lit. “shammings of things,” i.e. “improvisations”); cf. *res ficta* referring to stage fiction at Cic. *Amic.* 97, [Cic.] *Her.* 1.13, Quint. *Decl.* 342.7. Here Vibidius and Balatro become the mime actors that they resemble. Their miniature farce features an outraged drunkard berating the slaves for being slow with the wine. Balatro, in the secondary role (*secundae partes*, *OLD* *secundus* 10b;

cf. the theatrical metaphor of 1.9.46 *posset qui ferret secundas*, with Gowers *ad loc.*), literally “follows” the drift of the lead clown, devising his own part *ad lib.*; cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2.22–3 where Philip, the drunken party-crasher, performs a burlesque of the dance that has just been performed, then demands that the wine-steward pour him an extra-large cup of wine.

84 Nasidiene, redis: mock epic apostrophe; cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.127. Followed by his slaves, Nas. resembles a general leading his troops into battle. *mutatae frontis*: genitive of description, here used of an external characteristic; see NLS §85.III.

86 mazonomo: an immense serving-tray, commonly used for the wholesale distribution of food and gifts at public religious festivals and sacrificial rites; cf. Ath. 4.149b, 5.197f; the word *μαζονόμος* (or *μαζονόμων*, lit. “barley-cake server”) occurs on numerous inventory lists from temples in the Greek east, e.g. *IG* 7.3498.50, *OGI* 214.50. Here the massive trencher is carried by an indefinite number of slaves, and is large enough to hold all of the delicacies described in 86–9. As a symbol of satire (a literalization of the *lanx satura* metaphor), see Freudenburg 2001: 124. *discerpta* “torn apart,” suggests that the crane was violently dismembered; cf. the hares’ shoulders in 89, *auulsos* “wrenched off” to give them added sweetness (*ut multo suavius*). Such details (suggestive of witchcraft; see Freudenburg 1995: 212–13), are vestiges of Nas.’s disquisition explaining why the birds had to be dismembered in such violent (knife-free) ways.

87 sale multo, non sine farre: the sprinkling of salted *far* recalls Roman sacrificial practice; see above 2.3.199–200 n. This is the only place in extant Latin where the sprinkling of salt and barley is mentioned without reference to the *mola salsa*. The adjective *sparsi* specifies a male crane. As pointed out by Palmer *ad loc.* (see also Muecke, and Gowers 1993: 175, n. 232) *grus* is elsewhere normally feminine, just as *anser* in the next line is normally masculine. As unusual specifications of a fussy gourmet, cf. 4.44 n. Plin. *Nat.* 10.60 refers to crane as a bird highly prized in his own day, though it was once regarded as inferior to stork. Nas. seems positioned at the front end of that trend as an innovator. For the litotes *non sine* implying a generous amount, see 48 n.

88 pinguibus “juicy” (*OLD pinguis* 2c). Others prescribed a diet of dried figs; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 8.209. **pastum** “fattened on,” here takes an ablative object (*OLD pasco* 3b). The epithet is better suited to the goose than to its liver. The transference derives from Nas.; cf. 45 n. **albae:** for the gender, see prev. n.

89 armos “shoulders”; cf. 4.44.

90 edit “shouldst eat.” Another fragment of Nas.’s discourse. The archaic form of the subjunctive has a staid, prescriptive tone; see Watson

ad Epod. 3.3; cf. Cato *Agr.* 157.9. **adusto** “charred” (perhaps “burned off,” Gowers 1993: 176–7). For *adurere* in a magical context, used of Canidia’s burnt offerings, see Watson *ad Epod.* 5.24. When used of items of food, the term is elsewhere always negative; cf. 68 *panis adustus*, Ter. *Ad.* 425 *hoc salsumst, hoc adustumst*, Laber. fr. 134 Panayotakis *cocu’ si lumbum adussit, caedetur flagris*. Here the word may imply that the breasts have been blackened and nicely crisped, but Fund. and the other members of Maecenas’ entourage do not wait around to hear why they should expect to enjoy eating blackened (“they looked burnt to me” seems to be Fund.’s point) breast of blackbird. [Acro] *ad* 92 suggests that what causes them to run off is the prospect of having to hear Nas.’s full set of (increasingly revolting) explanations for why he has served these animals in parts rather than whole (*quare partes eorum attulisset et non integra*). No animal is served whole at the end of the meal. Each is described by Fund. as if it had undergone some carefully devised dismemberment or torture.

91 sine clune “without their rumps.”

92–3 si ... dominus “were our host not destined to regale us [or ‘were he not regaling us’] with their causes and innate properties.” The imperfect subjunctive is used in place of the pluperfect to express either continuous action or a future likelihood in past time (*NLS* §199). The guests make their escape just as Nas. is launching into his lecture explaining why the blackbird breasts have been blackened (appearing “burnt” to Fund.; 90 n.) and why the wood-pigeons have no rumps. Apparently even H.’s ancient readers might be put off by such talk. The terms *causas* and *naturas* suggest a connection between Nas.’s gastronomic theories and Epicurean natural science; cf. 4.45, Lucr. 3.951, 5.1185, etc., Ov. *Tr.* 2.425, and see Thomas *ad Virg. G.* 2.490. **fugimus**: the last-minute escape was typical of mime; cf. Cic. *Cael.* 65; cf. the abrupt mime finale of 1.2.132. For the dinner guests’ sudden departure as a reference to the *conuiuia satur* image of 1.1.117–21, see Gowers 1993: 161, and both the volume intro. and poem intro. above.

93–4 sic ... ut nihil omnino gustaremus “thus taking our revenge by tasting nothing at all,” *OLD sic* 3b.

94–5 illis: dative object of *afflassset*. **Canidia**: see 1.48 n. Allusions to witchcraft, few and subtle at the beginning of the meal, intensify greatly after Nas.’s return in line 84; see Freudenburg 1995: 212–16. The parting reference to Canidia in the poem’s last line both underscores and cements the connection between Nas.’s cooking and a witch’s potions and dark rites, but it also points forward to the next project on the horizon, the *Epodes* (already near completion), where Canidia will be invoked frequently, taking center stage in poems 5 and 17, and where (as if to

counterbalance this parting insult) she will have the work's final vindictive say (*Epod.* 17. 53–81); cf. similar generic transitions signaled by the last lines of Callimachus' *Aetia* (see above 6.16–17 n.) and Virgil's *Eclogues*. On *Ecl.* 10.70–7 pointing ahead to the *Georgics*, see Putnam 1970: 387–94, and Seider 2016: 16–20. **afflassset ... serpentibus Afris**: the sibilants reproduce the sounds of hissing of snakes. Witches and serpents were thought to have poisonous breath; cf. Luc. 6.522, Col. 8.5.18. The MSS are divided between *Afris* and *atris*. Orthographically, the two words are nearly indistinguishable and easily confused. In support of *atris*, cf. Virg. *G.* 1.129, *Aen.* 4.472–3. Virgil may have taken the phrase from Aemilius Macer, who wrote didactic poems on birds (*Ornithogonia*) and snakes (*Theriaca*); see Hollis 2007: 93–117. Oliensis 1998 makes a detailed case for connecting Canidia to Cleopatra ("Canidia is in a sense Horace's personal Cleopatra," 77). Working from that idea, Sharland 2011: 95, n. 55 points out that, if the reading *atris* is accepted, there is a near cryptogram (very hard to make out) of Cleopatra's name in the book's last line: *Canidia afflassset peior serpentibus atris*. Cleopatra committed suicide on August 12, 30 BCE, reputedly by snake venom. If taken as an allusion to Cleopatra's recent death (either *Afris* or *atris* serves the purpose equally well; cf. Cucchiarelli 2001: 152, n. 128 connecting *serpentibus ... Afris* to the death of Cleopatra), the book's last line establishes the *terminus ante quem* of its publication, and serves the purpose of a temporal signature and sign-off.

WORKS CITED

- Acosta-Hughes, B. 2002. *Polyeidea: the Iambi of Callimachus and the Archaic Iambic Tradition*, Berkeley.
- Adams, J. N. 1978. "Conventions of naming in Cicero," *CQ* 28: 145–66.
1982. *The Latin sexual vocabulary*, Baltimore.
1994. "Wackernagel's Law and the position of unstressed personal pronouns in classical Latin," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 92.2: 103–78.
1999. "Nominative personal pronouns and some patterns of speech in Republican and Augustan poetry," in Adams and Mayer 1999: 97–134.
2013. *Social variation and the Latin language*, Cambridge.
2016. *An anthology of informal Latin, 200 BC – AD 900*, Cambridge.
- Adams, J. N. and Mayer, R. G., eds. 1999. *Aspects of the language of Latin poetry* (Proceedings of the British Academy 93). Oxford/New York.
- Alexander, M. C. 2002. *The case for the prosecution in the Ciceronian era*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Alföldy, G. 1989. "Epigraphische Notizen aus Italien III. Inschriften aus Nursia (Norcia)," *ZPE* 77: 155–80.
- Allen, J. 2005. "The Stoics on the origin of language and the foundations of etymology," in Frede and Inwood 2005: 14–35.
- Anderson, W. S. 1982. *Essays on Roman satire*, Princeton.
- Armisen-Marchetti, M. 2006. "Un terme argotique chez Sénèque? A propos de *gausapatus* (*ep.* 53.3)," in C. Santini, L. Zurli and L. Cardinali, eds., *Concentus ex dissonis: scritti in onore de Aldo Setaioli*, 2 vols. (Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filologia e Tradizione Greca e Latina), Naples: 35–47.
- Armstrong, D. 1986. "*Horatius eques et scriba: Satires* 1.6 and 2.7," *TAPA* 116: 255–88.
2010. "The biographical and social foundations of Horace's poetic voice," in Davis 2010: 7–33.
2016. "Utility and affection in Epicurean friendship," in R. R. Caston and R. A. Kaster, eds., *Hope, joy, and affection in the classical world*, Oxford: 182–208.
- Armstrong, D., Fish, J., Johnston, P. A. and Skinner, M. B., eds. 2004. *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*. Austin.
- Arnott, W. G. 1964. "Notes on *gavia* and *mergus* in Latin authors," *CQ* n.s. 14: 249–62.
- Assmann, J. 2005. "Periergia: Egyptian reactions to Greek curiosity," in E. S. Gruen, ed., *Cultural borrowings and ethnic appropriations in antiquity*, Stuttgart: 37–49.

- Bakker, E. J. 2005. *Pointing at the past: from formula to performance in Homeric poetics*, Cambridge.
2013. *The meaning of meat and the structure of the Odyssey*, Cambridge, MA.
- Barchiesi, A. 1993. "Future reflexive: two modes of allusion and Ovid's *Heroides*," *HSCP* 95: 333–65.
2011. "Roman Callimachus," in B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus and S. Stephens, eds., *Brill's companion to Callimachus*, Leiden and Boston: 511–33.
- Barnouw, J. 2004. *Odysseus, hero of practical intelligence: deliberation and signs in Homer's Odyssey*, Lanham, MD.
- Barsby, J. A. 1999. *Terence: Eunuchus*, Cambridge.
- Barton, C. A. 1993. *The sorrows of the ancient Romans*, Princeton.
- Bather, P. and Stocks, C., eds. 2016. *Horace's Epodes: context, intertexts, and reception*, Oxford.
- Beacham, R. C. 1991. *The Roman theatre and its audience*, Cambridge, MA.
- Bell, S. 2014. "Roman chariot racing: charioteers, factions, spectators," in P. Christesen and D. G. Kyle, eds., *A companion to sport and spectacle in Greek and Roman antiquity*, Chichester: 492–504.
- Bellandi, F. 1996. *Persio: dai "verba togae" al solipsismo stilistico*, 2nd edn, Bologna.
- Bennett, C. E. 1900. "The stipulative subjunctive in Latin," *TAPA* 31: 223–50.
- Berg, N. 1996. "The Mystery Gourmet of Horace's *Satires* 2," *CJ* 91: 141–51.
- Berger, A. 1953. *Encyclopedic dictionary of Roman law*, Philadelphia.
- Bernstein, M. A. 1992. *Bitter carnival: resentment and the abject hero*, Princeton.
- Bettini, M. 1991. *Anthropology and Roman culture: kinship, time, images of the soul*, Baltimore.
2011. *The ears of Hermes: communication, images, and identity in the classical world*, English trans. W. Short, Columbus, OH. From the original Italian, 2000. *Le orecchie di Hermes*, Einaudi.
- Bloch, A. 1970. "Arma virumque als heroisches Leitmotiv," *Museum Helveticum* 27: 206–11.
- Bodel, J. 1994. *Graveyards and groves: a study of the Lex Lucerina* (*AJAH* 11).
1999. "The Cena Trimalchionis," in H. Hofmann, ed., *Latin fiction: the Latin novel in context*, London/New York: 38–50.
- Boll, F. 1913. "Die Anordnung im zweiten Buch von Horaz' Satiren," *Hermes* 48: 143–5.
- Bonandini, A. 2012. "Horatius Menippeus: primi sondaggi sulla presenza di Orazio nell'*alterum saturae genus*," *Camenae* 12: 1–17.

- Bond, R. P. 1978. "A discussion of various tensions in Horace, *Satires* 2.7," *Prudentia* 10.2: 85–98.
1980. "The characterization of Ofellus in Horace *Satires* 2.2 and a note on v. 123," *Antichthon* 14: 112–26.
1985. "Dialectic, eclectic and myth (?) in Horace, *Satires* 2.6," *Antichthon* 19: 68–86.
1987. "The characteristics of the interlocutors in Horace, *Satires* 2.3," *Prudentia* 19: 1–21.
- Bonner, S. 1977. *Education in ancient Rome*, London.
- Bowditch, P. 2001. *Horace and the gift economy of patronage*, Berkeley.
- Boyle, A. J. 2005. *Roman tragedy*, Abingdon.
- Bradley, K. 1987. *Slaves and masters in the Roman empire: a study in social control*, Oxford.
1994. *Slavery and society at Rome*, Cambridge.
- Bradley, K. and Cartledge, P., eds. 2011. *The Cambridge world history of slavery*, vol. I: *The ancient Mediterranean world*, Cambridge.
- Bradley, M. 2009. *Colour and meaning in ancient Rome*, Cambridge.
- Bramble, J. 1974. *Persius and the programmatic satire*, Cambridge.
- Braund, S. and Osgood, J. 2012. *A companion to Persius and Juvenal*, London.
- Breed, B. W., Keitel, E. and Wallace, R., eds. 2018. *Lucilius and satire in second-century BC Rome*, Oxford.
- Bremmer, J. N. 2014. *Initiation into the mysteries of the ancient world*, Berlin.
- Brink, C. O. 1971. *Horace on poetry: the "Ars Poetica"*, Cambridge.
1982. *Horace on poetry: Epistles book II, the letters to Augustus and Florus*, Cambridge.
- Brown, R. D. 1987. *Lucretius on love and sex: a commentary on De Rerum Natura IV, 1030–1287, with prolegomena, text, and translation*, Leiden.
- Buck, C. D. 1933. *Comparative grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago.
- Buecheler, F. 1915. *Kleine Schriften*, 2 vols., Leipzig.
- Bülow-Jacobsen, A. 2006. "Writing materials in the ancient world," in R. S. Bagnall, ed., *The Oxford handbook of papyrology*, Oxford: 3–29.
- Burkert, W. 1972. *Lore and science in ancient Pythagoreanism*, Nuremberg.
- Trans. E. L. Minar, Jr. from the original German, 1962 *Weisheit und Wissenschaft: Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon*.
- Byrne, S. 1999. "Maecenas in Seneca and other post-Augustan authors," in S. Byrne and E. Cueva, eds. *Veritatis amicitiaeque causa: essays in honor of Anna Lydia Motto and John R. Clark*, Wauconda, IL: 21–40.
- Cairns, F. 2004. "Varius and Vergil: two pupils of Philodemus in Propertius 2.34?" in Armstrong, Fish, Johnston, and Skinner 2004: 299–321.
2016. *Hellenistic epigram: contexts of exploration*, Cambridge.
- Cameron, A. 1973. *Porphyrius the charioteer*, Oxford.

1995. *Callimachus and his critics*, Princeton.
- Cancelli, F. 1971. "Per una revisione del 'cavere' dei giureconsulti repubblicani," *Studi in Onore di Edoardo Volterra*, vol. V: 611–46.
- Cèbe, J.-P. 1972. *Varron: "Satires Ménippées"*, vol. I (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 9), Rome.
- Champion, C. B. 2004. *Cultural politics in Polybius's Histories*, Berkeley.
- Champlin, E. 1989. "Creditor vulgo testamenta hominum speculum esse morum: why the Romans made wills," *CP* 84: 198–215.
1991. *Final judgments: duty and emotion in Roman wills, 200 B.C. – A.D. 250*, Berkeley.
- Christes, J. 1971. *Der frühe Lucilius*, Heidelberg.
- Cichorius, C. 1908. *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, Berlin.
- Citroni, M. 2000. "The memory of Philippi in Horace and the interpretation of Epistle 1.20.23," *CJ* 96: 27–56.
- Citti, F. 2000. *Studi Oraziani: tematica e intertestualità*, Bologna.
- Clackson, J., ed. 2011. *A companion to the Latin language*, Chichester.
- Clackson, J. and Horrocks, G. 2007. *The Blackwell history of the Latin language*, Malden, MA.
- Classen, C. J. 1978. "Horace – a cook?," *CQ* 28: 333–48.
- Clausen, W. 1963. "Crater cratera creterra," *CQ* 13: 85–7.
- Clay, D. 2009. "The Athenian garden," in J. Warren, ed., *The Cambridge companion to Epicureanism*, Cambridge: 9–28.
- Coarelli, F. 2007. *Rome and environs: an archaeological guide*, Berkeley. Updated from the original Italian, 1995 *Roma*. trans. J. J. Clauss and D. P. Harmon.
- Coffey, M. 1976. *Roman Satire*, London.
- Coleman, K. M. 1988. *Statius Silvae IV*, Bristol.
- Coleman, R. G. G. 1999. "Poetic diction and the poetic register," in Adams and Mayer 1999: 21–96.
- Commager, S. 1962. *The Odes of Horace*, New Haven.
- Compton, T. 1994. "The Herodotean mantic session at Delphi," *RhM* 137: 217–23.
- Connors, C. 2000. "Imperial space and time: the literature of leisure," in O. Taplin, ed., *Literature in the Greek and Roman worlds: a new perspective*, Oxford: 492–518.
2005. "Epic allusion in Roman satire," in Freudenburg 2005: 123–45.
- Conte, G. B. 1986. *The rhetoric of imitation: genre and poetic memory in Virgil and other Latin poets*, Ithaca.
1992. "Proems in the middle," in F. M. Dunn and T. Cole, eds., *Beginnings in classical literature* (Yale Classical Studies 29), New Haven: 147–59.
1994. *Latin literature: a history*, Baltimore/London.

2007. "Anatomy of a style: enallage and the new sublime," in S. J. Harrison, ed., *The poetry of pathos: studies in Virgilian epic*, Oxford: 58–122.
- Cooley, A. E. 2009. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: text, translation, and commentary*, Cambridge.
- Corbeill, A. 1996. *Controlling laughter: political humor in the late Roman Republic*, Princeton.
- Coulter, J. A. 1967. "An unnoted allusion to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in Horace *Sermones* 2.2," *CP* 62: 39–41.
- Courtney, E. 1999. *Archaic Latin prose*, Atlanta.
- 2013a. "The two books of Satires," in Günther 2013: 63–168.
- 2013b. "The transmission of the text of Horace," in Günther 2013: 547–60.
- Cowan, R. 2013. "Haven't I seen you before somewhere?" in G. W. M. Harrison and V. Liapis, eds., *Performance in Greek and Roman theatre*, Leiden/Boston: 311–42.
- Crawford, M. H. 1996. *Roman statutes*, 2 vols., London.
- Cribiore, R. 2005. *Gymnastics of the mind: Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton.
- Crook, J. A. 1967. *Law and life of Rome, 90 B.C. – A.D. 212*, Ithaca.
- Csapo, E. 1987. "Is the threat-monologue of the 'servus currens' an index of Roman authorship?" *Phoenix* 41: 399–419.
- Cucchiarelli, A. 2001. *La satira e il poeta: Orazio tra Epodi e Sermones* (Biblioteca di Materiali e discussion per l'analisi dei testi classici, 17), Pisa.
2007. "Iambic love (Horace, Inachia, and dreams of a perfect book)," *Ordia Prima* 6: 91–103.
- 2012a. *Publio Virgilio Marone, le Bucoliche*, Rome.
- 2012b. "Venusina lucerna: Horace, Callimachus, and imperial satire," in Braund and Osgood 2012: 165–89.
- Curtis, R. I. 1980. "A slur on Lucius Asicius, the Pompeian gladiator," *TAPA* 110: 51–61.
1991. *Garum and salsamenta: production and commerce in materia medica*, Leiden.
- Dalby, A. 2000. *Empire of pleasures: luxury and indulgence in the Roman world*, London.
- D'Alessio, G. B., ed. 1996. *Callimaco Inni Epigrammi frammenti*, 2 vols., Milan.
- Damon, C. 1997. *The mask of a parasite: a pathology of Roman patronage*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- D'Anna, G. 1979. "Due note Oraziane di lettura," in G. D'Anna, ed., *Studi di poesia Latina in onore di Antonio Traglia* (Edizioni di storia e letteratura), Rome: 525–52.

- D'Arms, J. H. 1970. *Romans on the Bay of Naples: a social and cultural study of the villas and their owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400*, Cambridge, MA.
1991. "Slaves at the Roman convivia," in W. J. Slater, ed., *Dining in a classical context*, Ann Arbor, MI: 171–83.
- Davis, G. 1999. "Carmina/Iambi: the literary-generic dimension of Horace's *Integer Vitae* (C. 1.22)," in W. S. Anderson, ed., *Why Horace? A collection of interpretive essays*, Mundelein, IL: 51–62.
- ed., 2010. *A companion to Horace*, Chichester.
- Degl'Innocenti Pierini, R. 1990. "Le battaglie del foro (per l'esegesi e la collocazione dei vv. 1228 ss. M. di Lucilio)," *Maia* 42: 249–55.
- Del Giovane, B. 2017. "Dressing philosophy with *sal niger*: Horace's role in Seneca's approach to the diatribic tradition," in M. Stöckinger, K. Winter and A. T. Zanker, eds., *Horace and Seneca: interactions, intertexts, interpretations*, Berlin: 27–52.
- Delignon, B. 2006. *Satires d'Horace et la comédie gréco-latine: une poétique de l'ambiguïté*, Louvain.
- De Melo, W. 2007. *The early Latin verb system*, Oxford.
- De Meo, C. 1983. *Lingue technique del Latino*, Bologna.
- Dench, E. 1995. *From barbarians to new men: Greek, Roman, and modern perceptions of peoples from the central Apennines*, Oxford.
- Dickey, E. 1996. *Greek forms of address: from Herodotus to Lucian*, Oxford.
2002. *Latin forms of address: from Plautus to Apuleius*, Oxford.
- Dickie, M. 1981. "The disavowal of *invidia* in Roman iamb and satire," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3: 183–208.
- Dixon, S. 1992. *The Roman family*, Baltimore.
- Dodds, E. R., ed. 1960. *Euripides: Bacchae*, 2nd edn, Oxford.
- Dohm, H. 1964. *Mageiros: Die Rolle des Kochs in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*, Munich.
- Dolansky, F. 2011. "Celebrating the Saturnalia: religious ritual and Roman domestic life," in B. Rawson, ed., *A companion to families in the Greek and Roman worlds*, Chichester: 488–503.
- Dumézil, G. 1996. *Archaic Roman religion*, 2 vols., trans. P. Krapp, with foreword by M. Eliade, Baltimore.
- Dunbar, N., ed. 1995. *Aristophanes: Birds*, Oxford.
- DuQuesnay, I. M. LeM. 1984. "Horace and Maecenas; the propaganda value of *Sermones* I," in T. Woodman and D. West, eds., *Poetry and politics in the age of Augustus*, Cambridge: 19–58.
- Dyck, A., ed. 2010. *Cicero: Pro Sexto Roscio*, Cambridge.
- Edmondson, J. 2008. "Public dress and social control in Rome," in J. Edmondson and A. Keith, eds., *Roman dress and the fabrics of Roman culture*, Toronto: 21–46.

2011. "Slavery and the Roman family," in Bradley and Cartledge 2011: 337–61.
- Edmunds, L. 2008. "Deixis in Ancient Greek and Latin literature: historical introduction and state of the question," *Philologia Antiqua* 1: 67–98.
- Edwards, A. 2010. "Tyrants and flatterers: *kolakeia* in Aristophanes' *Knights and Wasps*," in P. Mitsis and C. Tsagalis, eds., *Allusion, authority, and truth: critical perspectives on Greek poetic and rhetorical praxis*, Berlin/New York: 303–37.
- Edwards, C. 2007. *Death in Ancient Rome*, New Haven/London.
- Edwards, P. H. 1905. *The poetic element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace*, Baltimore.
- Elden, W. S. 1900. *The conditional period in the writings of Quintus Horatius Flaccus*, Waterville, ME.
- Elliott, J. 2013. *Ennius and the architecture of the Annales*, Cambridge.
- Erasmio M. 2004. *Roman tragedy: theatre to theatricality*, Austin.
- Erskine, A. 2001. *Troy between Greece and Rome: local tradition and imperial power*, Oxford.
- Evans, H. 1978. "Horace, *Satires* 2.7: Saturnalia and satire," *CJ* 73: 307–12.
- Evans, R. 2008. *Utopia antiqua: readings of the golden age and decline at Rome*, London/New York.
- Faas, P. 1994. *Around the Roman table*, Chicago.
- Fantham, E. 1989. "Mime: the missing link in Roman literary history," *Classical World* 82: 153–63.
2005. "Liberty and the people in Republican Rome," *TAPA* 135: 209–29.
- Farney, G. D. 2007. *Ethnic identity and aristocratic competition in Republican Rome*, Cambridge.
- Farrell, J. 2002. "Greek lives and Roman careers in the classical *vita* tradition," in F. de Arnas and P. Cheney, eds., *European literary careers: the author from antiquity to the renaissance*, Toronto: 24–46.
- Fayer, C. 1994. *La familia Romana: aspetti giuridici ed antiquari*, Rome.
- Fedeli, P. 2005. *Properzio, Elegie Libro II: Introduzione, testo e commento*, Cambridge.
- Ferri, R. 1993. *I dispaiceri di un epicureo: Uno studio sulla poetica delle epistole oraziane*, Pisa.
- Ferriss-Hill, J. L. 2015. *Roman Satire and the Old Comic tradition*, Cambridge.
- Fiske, G. C. 1920. *Lucilius and Horace*, Madison, WI.
- Fitzgerald, W. 2016. *Variety: the life of a Roman concept*, Chicago.
- Flintoff, E. 1973. "Lines 116–136 of Horace *Satire* II, 2," *Latomus* 32: 814–17.

- Ford, A. 2002. *The Origins of criticism: literary culture and poetic theory in classical Greece*, Princeton.
- Fordyce, C. J. 1961. *Catullus*, Oxford.
- Fortson, B. W. 2011. "Latin prosody and metrics," in Clackson 2011: 92–104.
- Fowler, D. 2000. *Roman constructions: readings in postmodern Latin*, Oxford.
2008. "Lectures on Horace's *Epistles*," *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 54: 80–114.
- Fowler, D. and Fowler, P. 2002. *Lucretius on Atomic Motion: A Commentary on De rerum natura 2.1–322*, Oxford.
- Fowler, P. 2007. "Lucretian Conclusions," in Gale 2007: 199–233.
- Fraenkel, E. 1957. *Horace*, Oxford.
1964. *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, 2 vols., Rome.
- Fraser, P. M. 1961. "The ΔΙΟΛΚΟΣ of Alexandria," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 47: 134–8.
- Frede, D. and Inwood, B., eds. 2005. *Language and learning: philosophy of language in the Hellenistic Age* (Proceedings of the Ninth Symposium Hellenisticum), Cambridge /New York.
- Frederiksen, M. 1984. *Campania*, Rome.
- Freudenburg, K. 1990. "Horace's satiric program and the language of contemporary theory in *Satires* 2.1," *The American Journal of Philology* 111.2: 187–203.
1993. *The walking muse: Horace on the theory of satire*, Princeton.
1995. "Wicked brew: Canidia at the feast of Nasidienus," *TAPA* 125: 207–19.
1996. "Verse-technique and moral extremism in two *Satires* of Horace (*Sermones* 2.3 and 2.4)," *CQ* 46.1: 196–206.
2001. *Satires of Rome: threatening poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*, Cambridge.
- ed., 2005. *The Cambridge companion to Roman satire*, Cambridge.
2006. "Playing at lyric's boundaries: dreaming forward in book two of Horace's *Sermones*," *Dictynna* 3: 135–72.
- ed., 2009. *Oxford readings in classical studies, Horace: Satires and Epistles*, Oxford.
2010. "*Horatius anceps*: persona and self-revelation in satire and song," in Davis 2010: 271–90.
2013. "The afterlife of Varro in Horace's *Sermones*: generic issues in Roman Satire," in T. D. Papanghelis, S. J. Harrison and S. Frangoulidis, eds., *Generic interfaces in Latin literature: encounters, interactions and transformations* (*Trends in Classics*, supplementary vol. 20), Berlin: 297–336.

2015. "Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*: censors in the afterworld," in S. Bartsch and A. Schiesaro, eds., *The Cambridge companion to Seneca*, Cambridge: 93–105.
2017. "A note on Trimalchio's three (equals two) libraries," *CQ* 67: 323–7.
2018. "Satire's censorial waters in Horace and Juvenal," *JRS* 108: 141–55.
- Frischer, B. 1983. "Inceptive *quoque* and the introduction *medias in res* in classical and early medieval Latin literature," *Glotta* 61.3/4: 236–51.
- Frischer, B., Crawford, J. and De Simone, M., eds. 2006. *The "Horace's villa" project 1997–2003*, vol. I: *Report on new fieldwork and research*, Oxford.
- Gaertner, J. F. 2005. *Ovid, Epistulae xx Ponto, book 1*, Oxford.
- Gale, M. R. 1994. *Myth and poetry in Lucretius*, Cambridge.
- ed., 2007. *Oxford readings in Lucretius*, Oxford/New York.
- ed., 2009. *Lucretius: De rerum natura V*, Liverpool.
- Garvie, A. F. 1994. *Homer Odyssey books VI–VIII*, Cambridge.
- Gigante, M. 2004. "Vergil in the shadow of Vesuvius," in Armstrong, Fish, Johnston, and Skinner 2004: 85–102.
- Gill, C. 1988. "Personhood and personality: the four-*personae* theory in Cicero, *De Officiis I*," in Annas 1992: 169–99.
- Godwin, J. 1999. *Catullus: the shorter poems*, Oxford.
- Goh, I. 2016. "Traces of Lucilius in Horace's *Epodes*," in Bather and Stocks 2016: 63–84.
2018. "Pikes, peacocks and parasites: Lucilius and the discourse of luxury," in Breed, Keitel and Wallace 2018: 255–78.
- Goldberg, S. M. 1996. "The fall and rise of Roman tragedy," *TAPA* 126: 265–86.
- Gordon, P. 2012. *The invention and gendering of Epicurus*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Gordon, R. 2008. "*Superstitio*, superstition and religious repression in late Roman Republic and Principate (100 BCE–300 CE)," *Past and Present, Supplement* 3: 72–94.
- Goujard, R., ed. 1975. *Caton: de l'agriculture*, Paris.
- Gourévitch, D. 1974. "Le menu de l'homme libre: recherches sur l'alimentation et la digestion dans les oeuvres en prose de Sénèque le philosophe," in *Mélanges P. Boyancé*, Rome: 311–44.
- Gow, A. S. F. and Page, D. L. 1965. *The Greek anthology: Hellenistic epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge.
- Gowers, E. 1993. *The loaded table: representations of food in Roman literature*, Oxford.
2003. "Fragments of autobiography in Horace *Satires I*," *CA* 22: 55–91.

2009. "A cat may look at a king: difference and indifference in Horace, *Satire 6*," in G. Urso, ed., *Ordine e sovversione nel mondo Greco e Romano*, Pisa: 301–16.
2017. "Maecenas, Gaius," in S. Goldberg, ed., *Oxford classical dictionary*, digital edition, Oxford.
- Gradel, I. 2002. *Emperor worship and Roman religion*, Oxford.
- Graf, F. 2005. "Satire in a ritual context," in Freudenburg 2005: 192–206.
- Gratwick, A. S. 1982. "The satires of Ennius and Lucilius," in E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen, eds., *The Cambridge history of classical literature*, vol. II, part 1: *The Early Republic*, Cambridge: 156–71.
1993. *Titus Maccius Plautus: Menaechmi*, Cambridge.
- Graverini, L. 2006. "An old wife's tale," in W. H. Keulen, R. R. Nauta and S. Panayotakis, eds., *Lectiones scrupulosae: essays on the text and interpretation of Apuleius' Metamorphoses in honour of Maaike Zimmerman*, Groningen: 86–110.
2013. "'Of mice and poets', Callimaco e Virgilio in Orazio, *sat. II.6*" (*Incontri di Filologia Classica XI, 2011–2012*, Trieste): 151–70.
- Griffin, M. 1976. *Seneca: a philosopher in politics*, Oxford.
- Gruen, E. S. 1992. *Culture and national identity in republican Rome*, Ithaca.
2004. *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*, Cambridge, MA.
- Günther, H.-C., ed. 2013. *Brill's companion to Horace*, Leiden/Boston.
- Gurval, R. A. 1995. *Actium and Augustus: the politics and emotions of civil war*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Habinek, T. 2005. *The world of Roman song: from ritualized speech to social order*, Baltimore.
- Hammond, M. 1976. *Latin: a historical and linguistic handbook*, Cambridge, MA.
- Handford, S. A. 1947. *The Latin subjunctive: its usage and development from Plautus to Terence*, London.
- Hankinson, R. J. 1997. "Natural criteria and the transparency of judgement: Antiochus, Philo and Galen on epistemological justification," in B. Inwood and J. Mansfield, eds., *Assent and argument: studies in Cicero's academic books*, Leiden/New York/Cologne: 161–216.
- Hanson, A. 2006. "Roman medicine," in D. S. Potter, ed., *A companion to the Roman Empire*, Chichester: 492–523.
- Harden, A. 2013. *Animals in the classical world: ethical perspectives from Greek and Roman texts*, New York.
- Hardie, P. R. 1986. *Virgil's Aeneid: cosmos and imperium*, Oxford.
2009. *Lucretian receptions: history, the sublime, knowledge*, Cambridge.
- Harlow, M. and Laurence, R. 2001. *Growing up and growing old in ancient Rome: a life course approach*, London/New York.

- Harper, K. 2011. *Slavery in the Late Roman world, AD 275–425*, Cambridge.
- Harrison, G. 1987. "The confessions of Lucilius (Horace *Sat.* 2.1.30–34): a defense of autobiographical satire?" *CA* 6: 38–52.
- Harrison, S. J. 1991. "Discordia taetra: the history of a hexameter-ending," *CQ* 41: 138–49.
1998. "Horace, *Satires* 2.4.61," *CQ* 38.2: 566–7.
2005. "'Waves of emotion': an epic metaphor in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*," in S. J. Harrison, M. Paschalis and S. Frangoulidis, eds., *Metaphor and the Ancient Novel* (Ancient Narrative Supplement 4), Groningen: 163–76.
2008. "'Laudes Italiae' (Georgics 2.136–175): Virgil as a Caesarian Hesiod," in G. Urso, ed., "*Patria diversis gentibus una?*" *Unità politica e identità etniche nell'Italia antica: atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 20–22 settembre 2007* (Convegni della Fondazione Niccolò Canussio 7), Pisa: 231–42.
- Hass, K. 2007. *Lucilius und der Beginn der Persönlichkeitsdichtung in Rom*, Stuttgart.
- Hellegouarc'h, J. 1972. *Le vocabulaire Latin des relations et des parties politiques sous la République*, Paris.
- Heller, J. 1962. "Nepos 'σκορπιστής' and Philoxenus," *TAPA* 93: 61–89.
- Henriksen, C. 2012. *A commentary on Martial Epigrams book 9*, Oxford.
- Herter, H. 1950. "De sene avaro arcae incubante," *RhM* 93: 187–8.
- Hinds, S. 1998. *Allusion and intertext: dynamics of appropriation in Roman poetry*, Cambridge.
- Hoffer, S. 2007. "The use of adjective interlacing (double hyperbaton) in Latin poetry," *HSCP* 103: 299–340.
- Holleran, C. 2012. *Shopping in Ancient Rome: the retail trade in the Late Republic and the Principate*, Oxford.
- Hollis, A. 2007. *Fragments of Roman poetry, c. 60 BC–AD 20*, Oxford.
- Holmes, B. 2010. *Symptom and the subject: the emergence of the physical body in Ancient Greece*, Princeton.
- Hooley, D. M. 1997. *The knotted thong: structures of mimes in Persius*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Hopkins, K. 1983. *Death and renewal: sociological studies in Roman history*, vol. II, Cambridge.
- Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidenow, E., eds. 2014. *The Oxford companion to classical civilization*, Oxford.
- Horsfall, N. 2003. *The culture of the Roman plebs*, London.
2008. *Virgil, Aeneid 2: a commentary*, Leiden/Boston.
- Hough, J. N. 1975. "Monosyllabic verse endings in the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 71: 16–24.

- Houghton, L. B. T. 2004. "The wolf and the dog (Horace, *Sermones* 2.2.64)," *CQ* 54: 300–4.
- Housman, A. E. 1913. "Notes on Persius," *CQ* 7: 12–32.
1972. *The classical papers of A. E. Housman*, ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, 3 vols., Cambridge.
- Hudson, N. A. 1989. "Food in Roman satire," in S. Braund, ed., *Satire and society in ancient Rome*, Exeter: 69–85.
- Hunt, P. 2011. "Slaves in Greek literary culture," in Bradley and Cartledge 2011: 22–47.
- Hunter, R. L. 1983. *Eubulus, the fragments*, Cambridge.
1999. *Theocritus selection: Idylls 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 13*, Cambridge.
2006. *The shadow of Callimachus*, Cambridge.
2012. *Plato and the traditions of ancient literature: the silent stream*, Cambridge.
- Hutchinson, G. O. 2006. *Propertius: Elegies book IV*, Cambridge.
2013. *Greek to Latin: frameworks and contexts for intertextuality*, Oxford.
- Isayev, E. 2007. *Inside ancient Lucania: dialogues in history and archaeology* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement), London.
- Jachmann, G. 1956. "Zur Frage des Verswiederholung in der augusteischen Dichtung," in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli*, Florence: 393–421.
- Jaeger, M. 2011. "Blame the Boletus? Demystifying the mushroom in Latin literature," *Ramus* 40: 15–32.
- Johnson, T. S. 2012. *Horace's iambic criticism: casting blame (Iambike Poesis)*, Leiden/Boston.
- Johnston, S. I. 2004. *Religions of the ancient worlds: a guide*, Cambridge, MA.
- Jones, F. 2016. *Boundaries of art and social space in Rome: the caged bird and other forms*, London/New York.
- Kajanto, I. 1965. *The Latin cognomina* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 36.2), Helsinki.
- Kalke, C. M. 1985. "The making of a thyrsus: the transformation of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*," *AJP* 106: 409–26.
- Kaster, R. 2005. *Emotion, restraint, and community in ancient Rome*, Oxford.
2006. *Cicero: Speech on behalf of Publius Sestius*, Oxford.
- Kemp, J. 2009. "Irony and *aequabilitas*: Horace *Satires* 1.3," *Dictynna* 6: 84–107.
- Kenney, E. J. 1962. "The First Satire of Juvenal," *PCPhS* 8: 29–40.
1984. *Moretum. A poem ascribed to Virgil: the ploughman's lunch*, Bristol.
1990. *Apuleius: Cupid and Psyche*, Cambridge.
- Kent, R. G. 1911a. "Latin mille, and certain other numerals," *TAPA* 42: 69–89.

- 1911b. "Note on *malis ridentem alienis*, Horace, *Sat.* II, 3, 72," an abstract from the proceedings of the forty-third annual meeting of the American Philological Association, in the preface to *TAPA* 42: xxx–xxxii.
- Keppie, L. J. F. 1983. *Colonisation and veteran settlement in Italy, 47–14 BC*, Rome.
- Ker, J. 2004. "Nocturnal writers in imperial Rome: the culture of lucubratio," *CP* 99: 209–42.
- Keulen, W. H. 2003. "Comic invention and superstitious frenzy in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: the figure of Socrates as an icon of satirical self-exposure," *AJP* 124: 107–35.
- Kinsey, T. E., ed. 1972. *Pro P. Quinctio oratio*, Sydney.
- Knoche, U. 1975. *Roman satire*, trans. E. Ramage, Bloomington, IN.
- Knorr, O. 2004. *Verborgene Kunst: Argumentationsstruktur und Buchaufbau in den Satiren des Horaz*, Hildesheim.
- Knox, P. E. 1995. *Ovid, Heroides: selected epistles*, Cambridge.
- Koch, K. and Helmreich, G. 1923. *Galenus De Sanitate tuenda, De alimentorum facultatibus, De bonis malisque suis, De uictu attenuante, De ptisana*, Leipzig/Berlin.
- Kraus, C. S. 2011. "The language of Latin historiography," in Clackson 2011: 408–25.
- Krenkel, W. 1970a. "Zur literarischen Kritik bei Lucilius," in D. Korzeniewski, ed., *Die römische Satire*, Darmstadt: 161–266.
- 1970b. *Lucilius: Satiren*, 2 vols., Leiden.
2002. *Marcus Terentius Varro: Saturae Menippeae*, 4 vols., St Katharinen.
- Kyle, D. G. 1998. *Spectacles of death in ancient Rome*, London/New York.
- Labate, M. 1984. *L'arte di farsi amare: modelli culturali e progetto didascalico nell'elegia ovidiana*, Pisa.
1996. "Il sermo oraziano e i generi letterari," in H. Krasser and E. A. Schmidt, eds., *Zeitgenosse Horaz: der Dichter und seine Leser seit zwei Jahrtausenden*, Tübingen: 424–41.
2009. "Horatian Sermo and genres of literature," in Freudenburg 2009: 102–21.
- Lada-Richards, I. 2006. "'Cum femina primum ...': Venus, Vulcan, and the politics of male *mollitia* in *Aeneid* 8," *Helios* 33: 27–72.
- Laird, M. L. 2015. *Civic monuments and the Augustales in Roman Italy*, Cambridge.
- Lange, C. H. 2009. *Res Publica Constituta: Actium, Apollo and the accomplishment of the triumphal assignment*, Leiden.
- Langslow, D. 2013. "Archaic Latin inscriptions and Greek and Roman authors," in P. Liddel and P. Low, eds., *Inscriptions and their uses in Greek and Latin literature*, Oxford: 167–96.
- La Penna, A. 1995. *Da Lucrezio a Persio: Saggi, studi, note*, Milan.

- Laurence, R. 1994. *Roman Pompeii: space and society*, London/New York.
- Leach, E. W. 1966. "Nature and art in Vergil's second Eclogue," *AJP* 87: 427-45.
1993. "Horace's Sabine topography in lyric and hexameter verse," *AJP* 114: 271-302.
- Lee, G. 1987. "Notes on nine Horatian passages," in M. Whitby, P. R. Hardie and M. Whitby, eds., *Homo viator: classical essays for John Bramble*, Bristol: 147-52.
- Lee, G. and Barr, W. 1987. *The Satires of Persius*, Liverpool.
- Leeman, A. D. 1982. "Rhetorical status in Horace, *Serm.* 2,1," in B. Vickers, ed., *Rhetoric revalued: papers from the International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, Binghamton, NY: 159-63.
1983. "Die Konsultierung des Trebatius: Statuslehre in Horaz, *Serm.* 2,1," in P. Handel and W. Meid, eds., *Festschrift für Robert Muth* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 22), Innsbruck: 209-15.
- Leggett, W. F. 2009. *Ancient and medieval dyes*, Landisville, PA.
- Leigh, M. 2015. "Food in Latin literature," in J. Wilkins and R. Nadeau, eds., *A companion to food in the ancient world*, Chichester: 43-52.
- Lindsay, W. M. 1894. *Latin language; an historical account of Latin sounds, stems and flexions*, Oxford.
- Lintott, A. 2008. *Cicero as evidence: a historian's companion*, Oxford.
- Littlewood, A. R. 1968. "The symbolism of the apple in Greek and Roman literature," *HSCP* 72: 147-81.
- Llewelyn, S. R. 2001. *New documents illustrating early Christianity*, vol. VI, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Long, A. A. 2005. "Stoic linguistics, Plato's *Cratylus*, and Augustine's *De dialectica*," in Frede and Inwood 2005: 36-55.
- Long, A. A. and Sedley, D. N. 1987. *The Hellenistic philosophers*, vol. I: *Translations of the principal sources, with philosophical commentary*, Cambridge.
- Lotito, G. 2001. *Suum esse. Forme dell'interiorità senecana*, Bologna.
- Lott, J. B. 2004. *The neighborhoods of Augustan Rome*, Cambridge.
- Lowe, B. 2004. "The industrial exploitation of murex: purple dye production in the western Mediterranean," in L. Cleland and K. Stears, eds., *Colour in the ancient Mediterranean world*, Oxford: 46-8.
- Lowe, D. 2010. "Burnt offerings and harpies at Nasidienus' dinner party (Horace, *Satires* 2.8)," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 15: 240-57.
- Lowrie, M. 1997. *Horace's narrative Odes*, Oxford.
2005. "Slander and horse law in Horace, *Sermones* 2.1," *Law and Literature* 17: 405-31.

2009. *Writing, performance, and authority in Augustan Rome*, Oxford.
- Ludwig, W. 1968. "Die Komposition der beiden Satirenbücher des Horaz," *Poetica* 2: 304–25.
- Lyne, R. O. A. M. 1978. *Ciris: a poem attributed to Vergil*, Cambridge.
1995. *Horace, behind the public poetry*, New Haven.
- MacCary, W. T. and Willcock, M. M., eds. 1976 (repr. 1996). *Plautus, Casina*, Cambridge.
- MacKay, T. W. 1970. "Pentheus: the literary and artistic evidence," a paper presented at the 71st General Meeting of the AIA in San Francisco, December 1969, summarized in *AJA* 74: 199–200.
- Mader, G. 2014. "Figuring (out) the *avarus*: ethics, aesthetics, and counter-aesthetics in Horace, *Satire* 1.1," *CJ* 109: 413–38.
- Maggioni, L., von Bothmer, R., Poulsen, G. and Branca, F. 2010. "Origin and domestication of cole crops (*Brassica oleracea* L.): linguistic and literary considerations," *Economic Botany* 64.2: 109–23.
- Mankin, D. 2010. "The Epodes: genre, themes and arrangement," in G. Davis, ed. 2010: 93–104.
- Mann, C. 2014. "Greek sport and Roman identity: the *certamina athletarum* at Rome," in T. F. Scanlon, ed., *Sport in the Greek and Roman worlds*, vol. II: *Greek athletic identities and Roman sports and spectacle*, Oxford: 151–81.
2009. "Concilia deorum: Ein episches Motiv in der römischen Satire," in F. Felgentreu, F. Mundt and N. Rücker, eds., *Per attentam Caesaris aurem: Satire – die unpolitische Gattung?* Tübingen: 46–61.
- Marchesi, I. 2005. "In memory of Simonides: poetry and mnemotechnics chez Nasidienus," *TAPA* 135: 393–402.
- Marsh, D. 1975. "Horatian influence and imitation in Ariosto's Satires," *Comparative Literature* 27.4: 307–26.
- Martyn, J. R. C. 1972. "Satis saturae?" *Mnemosyne* 25.2: 157–67.
- Marx, F. 1932. "De Horatii poetae praenomine," *RhM* 81: 304.
- Marzano, A. 2007. *Roman villas in central Italy: a social and economic history*, Leiden/Boston.
2013. *Harvesting the sea: the exploitation of marine resources in the Roman Mediterranean*, Oxford.
- Massaro, M. 1977. "Aniles Fabellae," *SIFC* 49: 104–35.
- Mayer, R. G. 1999. "Grecism," in Adams and Mayer 1999: 157–82.
- McCarthy, K. 2000. *Slaves, masters and the art of authority in Plautine comedy*, Princeton.
- McDonnell, M. 2006. *Roman manliness: "virtus" and the Roman Republic*, Cambridge.
- McGann, M. J. 1969. *Studies in Horace's first book of Epistles*, Brussels.
- McKeown, J. C. 1979. "Augustan elegy and mime," *PCPhS* 205: 71–84.

- Merli, E. 2006. "Identity and irony: Martial's tenth book, Horace, and the tradition of Roman satire," in R. R. Nauta, H. J. van Dam and J. J. L. Smolenaars, eds. *Flavian poetry*, Leiden/Boston: 257-70.
- Mette, H. J. 1961. "'Genus tenue' und 'mensa tenuis' bei Horaz," *Museum Helveticum* 18: 136-9.
- Michalopoulos, A. 2006. *Ovid Heroides 16 and 17: introduction, text and commentary*, Cambridge.
- Millar, F. 1973. "Triumvirate and Principate," *JRS* 63: 50-67.
- Moatti, C. 2015. *The birth of critical thinking in Republican Rome*, Cambridge.
- Moles, J. 1985. "Cynicism in Horace *Epistles* I," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar*: 33-60.
- Monteil, P. 1964. *Beau et laid en latin: étude de vocabulaire*, Paris.
- Montiglio, S. 2005. *Wandering in ancient Greek culture*, Chicago.
2011. *From villain to hero: Odysseus in ancient thought*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Morgan, G. 1994a. "Damasippus and Maecenas (Horace *Sermones* 2.3)," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 19.2: 28-9.
- 1994b. "Horace's two patrons," *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 19.9-10: 139-44.
- Muecke, F. 1985. "Cave canem: the satirist's image," in P. Petr, D. Roberts and P. Thomson, eds., *Comic relations: studies in the comic, satire and parody*, Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York: 113-22.
2005. "Rome's first 'satirists': themes and genre in Ennius and Lucilius," in Freudenburg, 2005: 33-47.
- Murgatroyd, P. 1995. "The sea of love," *CQ* 45: 9-25.
- Musselman, L. 2000. "Zawan and tares in the Bible," *Economic Botany* 54.4: 537-42.
- Nadeau, Y. 2013. *Dog bites Caesar! A reading of Juvenal's Satire 5 (with Horace's Satires I.5; II.5; II.6; Epistles I.1, I.16; I.17)*, Brussels.
- Nappa, C. 1999. "Catullus 59: Rufa among the Graves," *CP* 94: 329-35.
- Navarro Antolín, F. 1996. *Lygdamus: Corpus Tibullianum III.1-6, Lygdami elegiarum liber*, Leiden/New York/Cologne.
- Norden, E. 1903. *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, Leipzig.
1915. *Ennius und Vergilius*, Leipzig.
1966. *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum*, Berlin.
- Nussbaum, M. C. 1994. *The therapy of desire*, Princeton.
2009. "Stoic laughter: a reading of Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*," in S. Bartsch and D. Wray, eds., *Seneca and the self*, Cambridge: 84-114.
- Nutting, H. C. 1922. "Oculos effodere," *CJ* 17: 313-18.
- Oakley, S. P. 1997. *A commentary on Livy books VI-X*, Oxford.
- Oberg, E. 2000. *Phaedrus Kommentar*, Stuttgart.
- O'Connor, J. F. 1990. "Horace's cena Nasidieni and poetry's feast," *CJ* 86: 23-34.

- Oliensis, E. 1998. *Horace and the rhetoric of authority*, Cambridge.
- Olson, K. 2017. *Masculinity and dress in Roman antiquity*, London/New York.
- O'Neill, K. 2000. "Propertius 43.2: slumming with Vertumnus?" *AJP* 121: 259–77.
- Panayotakis, C. 2010. *Decimus Laberius: the Fragments*, Cambridge.
2014. "Hellenistic mime and its reception in Rome," in M. Fontaine and A. C. Scafuro, eds., *The Oxford handbook of Greek and Roman comedy*, Oxford: 378–400.
- Paoli, U. E. 1984. *Rome: its people, life and customs*, English trans. R. D. Macnaghten, New York.
- Parke, H. W. 1956. *The Delphic oracle*, 2 vols., Oxford.
- Parker, G. 2008. *The making of Roman India*, Cambridge.
- Parker, H. N. 2000. "Flaccus," *CQ* 50.2: 455–62.
- Pasoli, E. 1964. "Spunti di critica letteraria nella satira oraziana," *Convivium* 32: 449–78.
- Pitassi, M. 2009. *The navies of Rome*, Woodbridge, UK.
- Plaza, M., 2006. *The function of humour in Roman verse satire*, Oxford.
- Pollitt, J. J. 1965. *The art of Greece, 1400–21 B.C.: sources and documents*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
1974. *The ancient view of Greek art: criticism, history, and terminology*, New Haven.
- Powell, O. 2003. *Galen on the properties of foodstuffs: introduction, translation and commentary*, Cambridge.
- Prowse, A. M. 1963. "Orazio *Serm.* II 4 e il Fedro di Platone," *RFIC* 91: 199–202.
- Puelma Piwonka, M. 1949. *Lucilius und Kallimachos: zur Geschichte einer Gattung der hellenistisch-römischen Poesie*, Frankfurt.
- Purcell, N. 1983. "The *apparitores*: a study in social mobility," *PBSR* 51: 125–73.
1985. "Wine and wealth in ancient Italy," *JRS* 75: 1–19.
2001. "The *ordo scribarum*: a study in the loss of memory," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 113.2: 633–74.
2005. "The way we used to eat: diet, community, and history at Rome," in B. K. Gold and J. F. Donahue, eds., *Roman dining*, special issue of the *American Journal of Philology*, Baltimore: 329–58.
- Putnam, M. C. J. 1970. *Virgil's pastoral art: studies in the Eclogues*, Princeton.
1973. *Tibullus: a commentary*, Norman, OK.
- Race, W. H. 1982. *The classical priamel from Homer to Boethius*, Leiden.
- Ramsey, J. T. 2007. *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae*, 2nd edn, Oxford.
- Raschke, W. J. 1990. "The chronology of the early books of Lucilius," *JRS* 69: 78–89.

- Rawson, B. 1986. "Children in the Roman *familia*," in B. Rawson, ed., *The family in ancient Rome: new perspectives*, Ithaca: 170–200.
- Rawson, E. 1985. *Intellectual life in the Late Roman Republic*, London.
- Rebeggiani, S. 2013. "The chariot race and the destiny of the empire in Statius' *Thebaid*," *Illinois Classical Studies* 38: 187–206.
- Reckford, K. J. 1969. *Horace*, New York.
1997. "Horace: the man and the hour," *AJP* 118: 583–612.
1998. "Reading the sick body: decomposition and morality in Persius' Third Satire," *Arethusa* 31.3: 337–54.
2002. "Pueri ludentes: some aspects of play and seriousness in Horace's *Epistles*," *TAPA* 132: 1–19.
2009. "Studies in Persius," in M. Plaza, ed., *Oxford readings in classical studies: Persius and Juvenal*, Oxford: 17–56.
- Reinhardt, T. and Winterbottom, M. 2006. *Quintilian Institutio Oratoria book 2*, Oxford.
- Reinhold, M. 1965. *Marcus Agrippa: a biography*, Rome.
1976. *The history of purple as a status symbol in antiquity*, Brussels.
1988. *From Republic to Principate: an historical commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History, books 49–52 (36–29 BC)*, Atlanta.
- Relihan, J. C. 1993. *Ancient Menippean satire*, Baltimore.
- Reydams-Schils, G. 2005. *The Roman Stoics*, Chicago.
- Richardson, N. 2010. *Three Homeric hymns: to Apollo, Hermes and Aphrodite*, Cambridge.
- Rimell, V. 2015. *The closure of space in Roman poetics: empire's inward turn*, Cambridge.
- Rives, J. B. 2002. "Magic in the XII Tables revisited," *CQ* 52: 270–90.
- Roberts, M. 1984. "Horace *Satires* 2.5: restrained indignation," *AJP* 105: 426–33.
- Roby, H. J. 2000. *Roman private law in the times of Cicero and of the Antonines*, 2 vols., Union, NJ.
- Rosivach, V. J. 1995. "Seneca on the fear of poverty in the *Epistulae Morales*," *L'Antiquité Classique* 64: 91–8.
- Roskam, G. 2005. *On the path to virtue: the Stoic doctrine of moral progress and its reception in (Middle-)Platonism*, Leuven.
2007. *Live unnoticed (λάθῃ βιώσας): on the vicissitudes of an Epicurean doctrine*, Leiden/Boston.
- Ross, D. 1975. *Backgrounds to Augustan poetry: Gallus, elegy and Rome*, Cambridge.
2007. *Virgil's Aeneid: a reader's guide*, Malden, MA/Oxford.
- Rossi, M. A., ed. 1989. *Theocritus' Idylls XVII: a stylistic commentary*, Amsterdam.
- Rudd, N. 1966. *The Satires of Horace*, Cambridge.

- Rutledge, S. H. 1999. "Delatores and the tradition of violence in Roman oratory," *AJP* 120: 555-73.
- Saller, R. P. 1994. *Patriarchy, property and death in the Roman family*, Cambridge.
- Sallmann, K. 1970. "Satirische Technik in Horaz' Erbschleichersatire (S. 2, 5)," *Hermes* 98: 178-203.
- Salmon, E. T. 1967. *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge.
- Samuelsson, G. 2013. *Crucifixion in antiquity*, Tübingen.
- Santoro L'Hoir, F. 1992. *The rhetoric of gender terms: "man," "woman," and the portrayal of character in Latin prose*, Leiden.
- Scheid, J. 2003. *An Introduction to Roman religion*, Bloomington/Indianapolis.
- Scheidel, W. 1994. "Libitina's bitter gains: seasonal mortality and endemic disease in the ancient city of Rome," *Ancient Society* 25: 151-75.
2005. "Real slave prices and the relative cost of slave labor in the Greco-Roman world," *Ancient Society* 35: 1-17.
- Schindler, C. 2000. *Untersuchungen zu den Gleichnissen im römischen Lehrgedicht: Lucrez, Vergil, Manilius*, Göttingen.
- Seel, O. 1972. *Verschlüsselte Gegenwart: Drei Interpretationen antiker Texte*, Stuttgart.
- Seider, A. M. 2016. "Genre, Gallus, and goats: expanding the limits of Pastoral in *Eclogues* 6," *Vergilius* 62: 3-23.
- Sfyrroeras, P. 2014. "Like purple on ivory: a Homeric simile in Statius' *Achilleid*," in A. Augoustakis, ed., *Flavian poetry and its Greek past*, Leiden/Boston: 235-50.
- Shackleton Bailey, D. R., ed. 1965-70. *Cicero's letters to Atticus*, 7 vols., Cambridge.
1982. *Profile of Horace*, Cambridge, MA.
1985. "Vindiciae Horatianae," *HSCP* 89: 153-70.
- Sharland, S. 2010. *Horace in dialogue: Bakhtinian readings in the Satires*, Bern.
2011. "Ghostly guests and venomous snakes: traces of civil war in Horace, *Satires* 2.8," *Acta Classica* 54: 79-100.
- Shewry, P. R. and Hey, S. 2015. "Do 'ancient' wheat species differ from modern bread wheat in their contents of bioactive components?" *Journal of Cereal Science* 65: 236-43.
- Sider, D. 1997. *The Epigrams of Philodemus: introduction, text, and commentary*, Oxford.
- Sigsbee, D. L. 1976. "The *Paradoxa Stoicorum* in Varro's *Menippeans*," *CP* 71: 244-8.
- Sirago, V. 1958. "Lucanus an apulus," *Antiquité Classique* 27: 13-30.
- Skinner, M. B. 2007. *A companion to Catullus*, Malden, MA.
- Skutsch, O. 1968. *Studia Enniana*, London.

- Slater, N. W. 1987. "‘Against interpretation’: Petronius and art criticism," *Ramus* 16: 165–76.
- Smith, P. L. 1965. "Lentus in umbra: a symbolic pattern in Vergil's Eclogues," *Phoenix* 19: 298–304.
- Solodow, J. B. 1978. *The Latin particle quidem*, Atlanta.
- Soubiran, J. 1966. *L'élision dans la poésie latine*, Paris.
- Spranger, P. 1984. *Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz*, 2nd edn, Stuttgart.
- Steidle, W. 1939. *Studien zur Ars poetica des Horaz*, Würzburg.
- Stern, M. 1974. *Greek and Latin authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. I: *From Herodotus to Plutarch*, Jerusalem.
- Stoneman, R. 2011. *The ancient oracles: making the gods speak*, New Haven.
- Sumi, G. 2015. *Ceremony and power: performing politics in Rome between Republic and Empire*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Summers, K. 1995. "Lucretius and the Epicurean tradition of piety," *CP* 90: 32–57.
- Tarrant, R. 1983. "Horace," in L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and transmission: a survey of the Latin classics*, Oxford: 182–6.
- 2016a. "A new critical edition of Horace," in R. L. Hunter and S. Oakley, eds., *Latin literature and its transmission: papers in honour of Michael Reeve*, Cambridge: 291–321.
- 2016b. "The protohistory of the text of Horace," in J. Velaza, ed., *From the protohistory to the history of the text*, Frankfurt am Main: 223–44.
- Thom, J. C. 2005. *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus*, Tübingen.
- Thomas, R. F. 1979. "New comedy, Callimachus, and Roman poetry," *HSCP* 83: 179–206.
1988. *Virgil Georgics*, vol. II: *Books III–IV*, Cambridge.
2011. *Horace: Odes book IV and Carmen Saeculare*, Cambridge.
- Tieleman, T. 2003. *Chrysippus' On Affections: reconstruction and interpretation*, Leiden.
- Tigerstedt, E. N. 1970. "Furor poeticus: poetic inspiration in Greek literature before Democritus and Plato," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31: 163–78.
- Toner, J. P. 1995. *Leisure and ancient Rome*, Cambridge.
- Tracy, V. A. 1976. "The *Leno-Maritus*," *CW* 72.1: 62–4.
- Traina, A. 1973. "Semantica del *carpe diem*," *RFIC* 101: 5–21.
1989. "Il pesce epico: Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.39," *MD* 23: 145–50.
- Traube, L. 1911. *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vol. II: *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters*, Munich.
- Treggiari, S. 1991. *Roman marriage: iusti coniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian*, Oxford.
- Ullman, B. L. 1911. "Horace, Catullus, and Tigellius," *CP* 10: 270–96.

- Van Dijk, G. J. 1997. *Ainoi, logoi, mythoi: fables in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature, with a study of the theory and terminology of the genre*, Leiden.
- Van Rooy, C. 1966. *Studies in classical satire and related literary theory*, Leiden.
- Van Sickel, J. 1987. "The Elogia of the Cornelii Scipiones and the origin of Epigram at Rome," *AJP* 108: 41–55.
- Verboven, K. 1997. "Damasippus, the story of a businessman?" *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 8: 195–217.
- Verstraete, B. C. 2005. "The originality of Tibullus' Marathus Elegies," *Journal of Homosexuality* 49: 299–313.
- Volk, K. 2002. *The poetics of Latin didactic: Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius*, Oxford.
- Vössing, K. 2004. *Mensa Regia: Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser*, Leipzig.
- Wackernagel, J. 1927. "Congetture Greche e Latine," *SIFC* 5: 27–37.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1994. *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton.
- Warren, J. 2001. "Lucretius, symmetry arguments, and fearing death," *Phronesis* 46: 466–91.
- Watson, A. 1971. "The imperatives of the Aedilician Edict," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 39.1: 73–83.
1972. "Roman private law and the *Leges Regiae*," *JRS* 62: 100–5.
- Watson, L. C. 1982. "Ovid Amores I 6: a parody of a hymn?" *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series, vol. 35, Fasc. 1/2 (1982): 92–102.
2007. "The bogus teacher and his relevance for Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*," *RhM* 150: 337–74.
- Watson, L. C. and Watson, P. 2003. *Martial: selected Epigrams*, Cambridge.
2014. *Juvenal, Satire 6*, Cambridge.
- West, D. 1969. *The imagery and poetry of Lucretius*, Edinburgh.
1974. "Of mice and men: Horace, *Satires* 2.6.77–117," in T. Woodman and D. West, eds., *Quality and pleasure in Latin poetry*, Cambridge: 67–80.
- West, M. L. 1983. *The orphic poems*, Oxford.
- Wheeler, A. L. 1912. "*Satura* as a generic term," *CP* 7: 457–77.
- Wiesen, D. S. 1981. "Two problems in Horace's *Satires*," *Mnemosyne* 34: 87–95.
- Wildberger, J. 1998. *Ovids Schule der "elegischen" Liebe: Erotodidaxe und Psychagogie in der Ars amatoria*, Frankfurt.
- Wilhelm, R. M. 1982. "The plough-chariot: symbol of order in the *Georgics*," *CJ* 77: 213–30.
- Wili, W. 1965. *Horaz und die Augusteische Kultur*, Basel.

- Wilkinson, L. P. 1963. *Horace and his lyric poetry*, 2nd edn, Cambridge.
- Willcock, M. M. 1995. *Pindar victory odes: Olympians 2, 7 and 11, Nemean 4, Isthmians 3,4 and 7*, Cambridge.
- Williams, G. 1959. "Dogs and leather," *Classical Review* 73: 97–100.
1995. "Libertino patre natus: true or false?" in S. J. Harrison, ed., *Homage to Horace: a bimillenary celebration*, Oxford: 296–313.
2009. "Libertino patre natus: true or false?" in Freudenburg 2009: 138–55.
- Winbolt, S. E. 1903. *Latin hexameter verse, an aid to composition*, London.
- Wiseman, T. P. 1969. *Catullan questions*, Leicester.
1974. *Cinna the poet, and other Roman essays*, Leicester.
2008. "Rethinking the Roman triumph," *JRA* 21.2: 389–91.
2016. "Maecenas and the stage," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 84: 131–55.
- Witke, C. 1970. *Latin Satire: the structure of persuasion*, Leiden.
- Wright, M. 2008. *Euripides: Orestes* (Bloomsbury Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy), London/New York.
- Yona, S. 2018. *Epicurean ethics in Horace: the psychology of satire*. Oxford.
- Zago, G. 2010. "La favola esopica delle due bisacce: restauri testuali e note esegetiche A Galeno, *De an. Aff. Dign. Et cur.* 2,7, a Ps-Acrone, *school. Hor. sat.* 2,3,299, e alla *Parafrasi Bodleiana de Babrio*," *Museum Helveticum* 67: 7–17.
- Zanda, E. 2011. *Fighting hydra-like luxury: sumptuary regulation in the Roman Republic*, Bristol.
- Zanker, P. 1988. *The power of images in the age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Zanobi, A. 2014. *Seneca's tragedies and the aesthetics of pantomime*, London/NY.
- Zetzel, J. 1980. "Horace's *Liber Sermonum*: the structure of ambiguity," *Arethusa* 13: 59–77.

INDEXES

Initial numbers in italic type (e.g. 2-4, 11) refer to pages in the volume introduction. Subsequent references (unitalicized) are to the essays that introduce specific poems (e.g. intro. 7 = see the introductory essay attached to poem 7) and to notes on specific passages in the commentary (e.g. 3.45 = see the comments on line 45 of poem 3).

1. GREEK TECHNICAL TERMS

δεισιδαίμων, 3.281, 282
 εὐδαιμονία, 4.95
 κατόρθωσις, 3.201
 μυκτηρισμός, 8.64
 νομοθέτης, 3.280

ὀψοφάγος, 7.106
 πολυπράγμων, 3.19-20
 τὸ πρέπον, 3.307
 ὠφέλεια, 2.102-5

2. LATIN WORDS AND PHRASES

accipe, 3.233, 307, 5.10; introducing
 indirect question, 2.70, 3.46
aequabilitas, 7.6-20, 7.9, 10
aequanimitas, 3.15-16
agellus, 2.114
ambitio, 3 intro., 3.212, 6 intro., 6.17
amicitia, 2, 5 intro., 5.105-9; 6 intro.,
 6.65-76, 7.1-6, 75, 7 intro., 7.2-3,
 8 intro.
amor, 3.247-80
angulus, 6.8
arbiter/ arbitrium, 3.86, 5.104
ars, 4 intro.
avaritia, 3 intro.
auctoratus, 7.59

beatus/ beata uita, 4.95, 8.1

cantare, 1.46
captatio, see legacy-hunting, General
 Index
carpere (carpe diem), 6.93-7, 94
cena, 4.25, 6.65-76, 7.32-3, 8 intro.,
 8.3-4, 20-6
compita, 3.281, 6.50
consolatio, 8 intro., 8.65
constantia, 7 intro., 7.6-20, 6-7, 18,
 26-7, 29, 89-92, 111-15, 7.26-7,
 111-15

conuiuia satur, 2, 3, 5, 4.58, 8 intro., 8.93
cupido, 3 intro., 3.247-80

decorum/ decet, 3.307
deductum carmen, 1.4, 6.14-15
durus/ duritia, 2.88

eius: as outmoded form, 1.70, 6.76
eques, 1.75, 7.49-50
exclusus amator, 3.259-60, 7.89-92

fastidium, 6.86
fortuna, 2.126, 7.88, 8 intro., 8.61
frigus, 1.62

gustatio, 2.15-16, 4.25, 27, 29, 30,
 8.8-9

hortus/ horti, 2 intro., 3 intro., 3.312, 6
 intro., 6.2, 33, 49, 71, 8 intro.

ingenium, 1.67, 75, 4 intro., 6.14-15
inuidia, see envy, General Index
iudices selecti, 7.53-4
ius ("sauce"), 4 intro., 4.64, 8.48
ius exponendi, 5.45-6

lanx, 8 intro., 8.86
Lares, 3.164-6, 281, 5.14, 6.66

lex operis, 1 intro., 1.2

libertas, 1, 3

luxuria, 3 intro.

macellum, 3.229

Maia nate, see Mercury, General Index

malum carmen, 1 intro., 1.82–3

mola salsa, 3.199–200, 8.87

mollis/mollitia, 2.86–7, 4.34

mos maiorum, 6.1–3

mulsum, 4.24, 25

nominatim: as critical mode, 1.22

nunc: as paragraph marker, 2.70, 3.46

opus, 1.63

paupertas, 5.9

pedester, 6.17

Penates, 3.176, 5.4

pietas, 1

pinguis, 6.14–15, 64

popina, 4.62, 7.39

primus ego: as poetic motif, 1.62–3,

4.46, 7.3–5, 8 intro., 8.51–2

pro deo et patria, 2 intro.

promulsis, 4.25, 8.8–9

Puteal, 6.35

res gestae, 1.62–3

sapiens, 3.35, 97–8, 296, 4.44, 7.72–4,

83–8, 8.60

sapientia, 1.72, 3.52

satura, 2, 3, 5, 1.1, 6.17, 7.39

scribae, see scribes, General Index

scurra, 1.22, 7.15, 36–7, 8.20–1

senex, 2.67, 5.90

sermo, 2 intro., 2.2, 3.4, 4 intro., 6 intro., 6.42–6, 8 intro.

Sermones: as title, 3, 5, 1 intro., 3.4 (Sermones book 1) 1–5, 9; (book 2, general) 4–10

sodales, 1.30

summa uoluptas, 2 intro., 2.18–20

superstitio, 3 intro., 3.281, 282,

288–95

suspendere naso, 8 intro., 8.64

tenuis, 4.9, 36, 6.14–15, 117

tenuis uictus, 2 intro., 2.53, 6.117

triclinium, 8.20–6

uariatio, 2.71, 6.86, 8 intro.

uates, 4.11, 5.6

Velabrum, 3.229

uerna, 6.66

uicarius, 7.79–81

Vicus Tuscus, 3.228, 7.14

uirtus, 1.70, 2.13, 3.97–8

uitium, 2.77–8, 3.77–82, 307, 7.108–9, 8 intro.

umbrae, 8 intro., 8.22, 35

ut: special uses of, 1.43, 55, 5.18, 48, 8.10

3. GENERAL

ablative: of material, 8.45;

of respect, 2.29–30; of

specification, 8.44

accusative: internal, 2.27, 4.49, 5.5,

7.47–8, 8.41

[Acro], see scholia

Actium, battle of, 5, 12, 1 intro.,

6.55–6

adultery, 7 intro., 7.47–8, 55

Aeneas, 5.63

Aesopus: the actor, 3.239; the fabulist, 3.299, 314–20

Agrippa, 1, 12, 3.185, 4.33, 6.38

Albucius, 2.67

alliteration, 1.7, 11, 69, 3.40, 117, 130,

174, 195, 244, 255, 4.3, 68, 5.36,

94, 6.31, 32, 88, 8.77–8

Anacharsis, 2 intro.

anaphora, 3.184, 5.14

animal gender: as gourmand's

obsession, 2.22, 4.14, 8.87

apo koinou construction, 2.80, 5.82,

7.1–2, 8.30

Apollo, 1.68, 5.60, 6.14–15

apostrophe, 2.1, 6.60–7, 8.84;

"apostrophic" interrogation," 3

intro., 3.187–223

appetizers, 2.15–16, 4.25, 27, 29, 30,

59, 73, 8.6, 8–9

Aratus, 6.22–3

archaic constructions, forms,

orthography, syntax, 1.80–1, 82–3,

104, 3.24, 38, 180–1, 191, 197, 4.1,

6.5, 21, 65, 8.9, 67, 90

- archaic words and phrases, 3.45,
117–18, 181, 191, 197, 4.63, 5.36,
49, 8.2, 67, 90
Archestratus, 4 intro., 4.11, 41, 45, 8
intro.
Archilochus: alluded to, 6.91–2;
named, 3.11–12
Aristippus, 3.100, 103
Aristoxenus, 1.30
Arval Brothers, 3.282
assonance, 3.244, 4.3, 68
Atellan Farce, 3.187–223, 8.22
Athens, 7.13, 8.12–13
augurs, 5.22
- Baiae, 4.32
Balatro, 3.164–6, 8 intro., 8.20–1, 64,
65–74
beards: symbolism of, 3 intro.,
3.17, 35
Bellona, 3.223
birds: blackbirds, 8.909; chickens,
2.121–2, 4.19; crane, 8.86; fattened,
8 intro., 8.88; goose, 8.87–8; gulls,
2.51; nightingales, 3.245; peacocks,
2.23; storks, 2.49–50; thrushes,
2.74, 5.10
boar, 2.89, 4.40–4, 8.6
bread, 2.18–20, 6.89, 7.102
Brutus, 1
- Caesar, Julius, 1, 6.55–6, 8.16
caesura: “attenuated,” 3.134, 176–81;
“blurred” via elision, 2.88, 3.217;
lacking, 3.180; lengthening prior
syllable, i.e. “metrical lengthening,”
1.82–3, 2.47, 3.1, 174, 187, 260
Callimachus, 1.7, 46, 57, 2 intro., 2.38,
94–6, 4.52–3, 5.39–41, 6 intro.,
6.14–15, 16–17, 8 intro.
Calvus, 1.30
Campania, 3.144, 4.31
Campus Martius, 6.49
Canidia, 1.46, 48, 8.90, 94–5
Catus, 8, 11, 4 intro.
Cato the Elder, 1.68, 2 intro., 2.2, 117,
120, 128, 4 intro., 4.15, 29, 76, 6.64,
65–76, 66, 7.118
Catullus, 1.30, 60, 3.1, 4 intro.,
4.80–2, 6.103–4, 8.23
children: representations of, 3.214–18;
their games, 3.247, 248, 249
Chrysippus, 3 intro., 3.44, 52, 82, 287
- Cicero, 3 intro., 3.259–71, 307, 4
intro.
Cleopatra, 11–12, 6.55–6, 8.94–5
clothing: and status, 7.10, 55
colloquial language, 3.108, 117,
4.38–9, 7.34, 8.3–4
comedy: comic sight gags and routines,
5.95, 7.38, 58–61, 91, 116; Middle
Comedy, 4 intro., 8 intro., 8.20–1;
New Comedy, 3 intro., 3.11–12,
38, 60–1, 77, 108–19, 128, 259–71,
4 intro., 6.30–1, 7 intro., 7.1–2,
2–3, 8.19, 67; Old Comedy, 7, 1.62–3,
3.11–12, 187–223, 5 intro., 5.36
constipation, 4.27, 29
conversation, *see sermo, Sermones* in
Index of Latin Words
cookbooks, 4 intro., 4.20
cooks: Apicius, 4.20, 8.51–2; comedic,
4 intro., 4.20, 73–5, 8 intro., 8.25
Crates, 3 intro.
Crispinus, 3 intro., 7 intro., 7.45
crucifixion, 7.47–8, 66
Cruquianus, *see scholia*
Cynics/Cynicism, 2.56, 3.187–223
- Dacia/Dacians, 6.53, 60–7
Dama, 5.19, 32, 7.53–4
Damasippus, 7–8, 11, 3 intro., 4 intro.,
8.16
Damoxenus, 4 intro.
dancing, 1.24
dates: of H.’s career and publication
of *S. 2*, 1, 6.40, 42–3, 53, 55–6,
8.94–5
Davus: as comic slave name, 5.91; the
slave of poem 7, 3 intro., 7 intro.,
7.1–2
deer, 4.43
deictic devices 3.308, 6 intro., 6.1
diatribe, 5, 2.11, 70–93, 3 intro., 3.30,
77–82, 87–103, 4.58
diction: archaic, 3.45, 117–18, 181,
191, 8.2, 67; comic, 5.36, 7.1–2,
43, 100, 8.90; Gallic, 5.40; irregular
and/or rare, 2.3, 3.174, 179, 245,
320, 4.63, 75, 5.43, 48, 6.5, 9, 67,
70, 76, 109, 7.104–5, 107, 8.30,
73–4; slang, 4.15, 5.75
didactic, 3.78, 104, 4 intro., 4.52, 5.79,
8.28; *see also* Lucretius
diet: and medicine, 2.73–4, 4.25, 29;
“natural,” 4.52–3, 64; primitive,

- 2.57, 92–3; simple, 1.72, 2 intro., 2.70–93, 71, 73, 117, 4.64, 6.2, 7.30; varied, 2.71, 76, 6.86
- digestion, 2.77, 81, 4.22–3, 59
- diminutives, 2.43, 114, 3 intro., 3.10, 155, 216, 247, 259, 309, 5.33, 38, 82, 6.64, 78, 7.95
- dinner parties, *see cena* in Index of Latin Words
- disease: as moral analogy, 3 intro., 3.27, 78, 121, 307; in Rome, 3.290, 6.19
- divinization, 4.12
- drinking/drunkenness, 1.24, 25, 3.3, 61–3, 281, 7.31–2, 32–3, 114, 8.35, 37, 80–3
- ecphrasis, 6.1
- edicts: aedilician, 3.227; praetorian, 2.51, 3.187
- eggs, 2.45–6, 4.12, 14, 57, 8.8–9
- elision: long into short, 2.88, 3.217; multiple/excessive, 3 intro., 3.86, 180, 217; unusual and/or difficult, 2.89, 92, 3.56, 83, 217, 266, 4.82, 6.29
- ellipsis, 5.102
- Ennius, 1.13, 68, 72, 2.52, 4.38–9, 6.44, 7.100
- envy, directed at Horace, 1.77, 3.13, 6.47–9, 49
- epic: diction, phraseology, and parody of, 1.11, 29, 58, 69, 72, 2.39, 3.135–6, 195, 223, 5 intro., 5.49, 59, 60, 97; 6.26, 33–9, 80–1, 97, 98–9, 100–1, 7.75–6, 100, 8.9, 34, 45, 54, 59, 84
- Epicurus/Epicureanism: 8, 2 intro., 2.25, 70–93; 3 intro., 3.179, 4 intro., 6 intro.; parody of, 6 intro., 6.2, 93–7, 8 intro., 8.65–74
- Epodes, of Horace, 12, 1.48, 77, 3 intro., 3.323–5, 8.90, 94–5
- Esquiline Hill, 6 intro., 6.32, 33
- etymological figures and puns, 2.93, 102–5, 3.281, 287, 289, 4.34, 57, 5.14, 33, 71, 6.31, 47–9, 70, 7.15
- Eupolis, 3.11–12
- fable, 7, 3.314–20, 6 intro., 6.10–13, 77–8, 7 intro.
- fish: as luxury fare, 2.120, 8 intro.; *lupus* “sea bass,” 2.31–2; *mullus* “mullet,” 2.34, 8.42; *murena* “moray eel,” 8 intro., 8.42; *passer* “flat-fish,” 8.29; *rhombus* “turbot,” 2.42, 94–6; *scarus* “parrot-wrasse,” 2.22; *thynnus* “tuna,” 5.44
- fish paste (*allec*), 4.73
- fish sauce (*garum*), 4.37, 5.44, 8.46
- fishing: 4.37; as legacy-hunting metaphor, 5.25
- Floralia festival, 3.182, 184
- foods: “simple” and “complex,” 2.73, 4.64, 8.59; luxurious, 8 intro., 2.42; *see also* diet
- fruits: apples, 3.272, 4.70, 8.31–2; figs, 2.121–2, 8.88; grapes/raisins, 2.121–2, 4.71, 72, 73–5; mulberries, 4.22–3
- Fundanius, 8 intro., 8.19
- Furius Bibaculus, 9, 12, 1.15, 5 intro., 5.39–41
- Gallonius, 2.47
- gambling, 7.17
- gardens, *see hortus/horti* in Index of Latin Words
- gladiators, 3.310, 6.44, 7.58–61, 58, 96–7
- Glycera, 7.95–101
- goats, 2.121–2
- gout, 7.15
- grains: darnel, 6.89, 117; emmer, 6.89, 7.102; oats, 6.84, 117; rice, 3.155
- Granius, 8 intro., 8.11
- Harpies, 2.40
- heirs and rules of inheritance, 3.87–94, 5.100
- hellebore, 3.82, 164–6
- hendiadys, 6.17, 21
- Hercules, 6.10–13
- Hesiod, 6 intro.
- Homer: the *Iliad*, references to, 3.57–8, 119, 189, 195; the *Odyssey*, referred to and/or as analogy, 3 intro., 3.2, 72, 73, 5 intro., 5.1, 3, 20, 6.33–9, 80–1
- honey, 2.15–16, 4.24
- Horace: Epicureanism of, 3–5, 8, 4 intro., 6 intro., 6.42–3, 71–6, 8 intro.; equestrian status of, 1.75, 7.49–50, 53–4; ironic mode of, 9–10, 4 intro., 6 intro., 6.54–5, 8 intro., 8.64; military service

- and early career, 1-2; physical appearance of, 3.308, 309, 6.14-15, 7.108-9; scribal duties of, 6.36; youth and Italian background of, 1 intro., 1.34-9, 2.112-14
- humors, bodily, 2.76, 3.141, 4.52-3
- hunting, 3.234, 4.44
- hymns/hymnic formulae, 6.6-15, 16-17, 17-23, 20
- hypallage, *see* transferred epithet
- hyperbaton, 1.32-4, 3.115-16, 164-6, 4 intro., 4.24, 54, 7.89
- infinitive: exclamatory, 2.29-30, 4.83, 8.67; historical, 6.113-14, 8.35
- insanity, 3 intro., 3.120, 187-223, 249
- inscriptions/inscriptional language, 3.97-8, 5.69, 85
- irony, 9-10, 4 intro., 6 intro., 6.54-5, 8.64
- Jews, 3.288-95, 291
- jurisconsult, duties of, intro. 1, 1.80-1
- Juvenal, 3, 1.23, 7 intro.
- katabasis*, 6 intro., 6.97
- Klingner, Friedrich, 13-14
- Laelius, 1.65, 72
- Lambinus, 8 intro.
- land-confiscations, 8, 2 intro., 2.131, 6.1-3, 55-6
- language, *see* diction
- Laurentum, 4.42
- law: concerning adultery, 7.61-3; of defamation, 1 intro., 1.82-3, 86; of genre, *lex operis*, 1 intro., 1.1; and land-confiscations, 2.131, 6.5
- legacy-hunting (*captatio*), 5 intro.
- legal terminology and/or metaphor, 1.79, 3.181, 187, 217-18, 284-5, 286
- legumes: beans, 6.63; lupins, 3.182
- Lethe, 6.62
- Libitina, 6.19
- line-endings, unusual: of the "*Discordia tætra*" type, 2.100; monosyllabic, 3.185, 202
- litotes, 1.17
- Lucania: as Horace's home region, 1.34-9; as hunting region, 3.234, 8.6
- Lucian, 5 intro.
- Lucilius, 2-4, 12, 1 intro., 1.11, 12, 13, 17, 30, 32-4, 60, 62-3, 68, 69, 70, 73, 77; 2.47, 4.30, 51, 8 intro., 8.11, 15
- Lucretius: allusions to, 1.50-3; 2.83, 88, 3.49, 115-16, 153-4, 259-71, 259-60, 263, 4.2, 57, 58, 63, 64, 94-5; 6 intro., 6.61-2, 76, 7.114, 8.28, 67, 73-4; ancient reception of, 4 intro.
- Lucrine Lake, 4.32
- Lupus, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, 1.68
- Maecenas, 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 3 intro., 3.312, 324, 5 intro., 6 intro., 6.14-15, 20, 32, 33-9, 38, 42-3, 7 intro., 7.32-3, 8 intro., 8.16, 20-6
- magic, 8.90
- malaria, 3.290
- manumission, 7.76-7
- Marc Antony, 1-2, 5.62, 6.53
- Martial, 6 intro., 6.1
- Matron, 8.25
- Matutinus (Janus), 9, 6 intro., 6.20, 22-3
- medicine: as analogy, 3 intro., 3.27, 82; and food, 4 intro., 4.25, 29; medical terminology, 3.153-4, 161, 213, 292-3, 4.52-3, 7.107
- memory/memorization, 4.7, 11, 90, 6.31, 8.20-1
- Menander, 3.11-12
- Menippus/Menippean Satire: 5 intro., 7.24, 8 intro.; *see also* Varro
- Mercury, 9, 6 intro., 6.5, 10-13, 15
- Metella, 3.239
- Metellus Macedonicus, 4, 1.67
- meter/metrical features: Catullan molossus, 4 intro., 4.80-2, 6.103-4, 106-11; cretic, 1.65-6; irregular/rugged, 3 intro., 3.79, 176-81, 4.6-7; neoteric, 4 intro.; slowed, 3.145; spondaic, 1.58
- mice, 6 intro.
- mime, 7 intro., 7.55, 58-61, 89-92, 8.80-3, 93
- money-lending, 3 intro., 3.69-71
- Muses, 6.14-15, 17
- mushrooms, 4.20
- mysteries/mystery rites, 4.11, 92, 8.12-13, 28

- names indicating character, 2.133,
6.77, 78, 8 intro., 8.1, 20-1
naming conventions/nomenclature,
Roman, 5.32, 6.37
Nasidienus, 8, 8 intro., 8.1
naturalism, 8 intro., 8.53
nature: as Epicurean concept, 1.50-3,
4 intro., 4.52-3, 64, 8.92; as Stoic
concept, 3 intro., 7.74
Naulochus, 1, 3 intro.
Nomentanus, 3.175, 224, 5.63, 8
intro., 8.23
Numantia, 2
nuts, 2.121-2, 3.171
- Octavian/Augustus, 1, 5, 12, 1 intro.,
1.11, 13-15, 20, 84, 86; 2.104,
3.185, 5.62, 6.1-3, 38, 53, 55-6, 8
intro.
- Odes of Horace: 6, 1.24-9; 2.104,
4.51, 6.93-7, 7.95-101; the "lyric I"
of, 6 intro.
- Odysseus: 6, 9; as comic figure, 5
intro.; in Hellenistic Philosophy, 5
intro.; in Homer, 5.3
- Ofellus, 8, 2 intro., 2.2, 102-5,
6.10-13
- Oliensis, Ellen, 7 intro.
- olive oil, 2.59, 3.125, 4.50, 69, 8.45
- oracles and oracular language, 4.12,
5.2, 58, 61
- Orcus, 5.49
- Pacuvius, 3.60-1
- painting, 7.95-101, 96-7
- pallor, 2.20-1, 76, 94-6, 3.78, 8.35
- Panaetius, 3.307
- paraprosdokian*, 3.144, 4.76-7, 6.64
- parasites, 3.227, 6.30-1, 54-5, 8.25, 67
- Parthia and Parthians, 5.62
- participial resumption, 3.104
- patronage, *see amicitia* in Index of
Latin Words
- patronymics, 1.72, 5.59
- Pausias, 7.95-101, 96-7
- Penelope, 5.76, 7.47-8
- perfume, 4.68
- periphrasis, 1.72
- Persius: 1.23; imitating the poems of
S, 2, 2.31-2, 94-6, 3.85-6, 122, 124,
6 intro., 6.8, 12-13, 24, 29, 96, 6.8,
7.87, 104-5, 8.64, 77-8; on Horace,
8 intro.
- Petronius, 8 intro.
- Philippi, 1, 3, 8, 3 intro., 6 intro., 6.15,
36
- Philodemus, 7 intro., 7.89, 8.23
- physiognomy, 4.14
- Picenum, 3.272, 4.70
- Pindar, 1.24-9
- Plato: dialogues alluded to, 11, 2
intro., 2.1, 79, 3.193, 4 intro., 4.1,
2, 10, 6.71-6, 77-8, 8.1, 3-4, 35;
named, 3.11-121, 4.3;
- Polemo, 3.254-7
- polyptoton, 1.69, 2.39, 94-6, 3.40,
104, 4.9, 6.80-1
- Pompeius Lenaeus, 7.39
- Pompey, 1, 5.64
- Porcius, 8.23
- pork, 2.117, 6.64, 65
- Porphyrio, *see* scholia
- prayers/prayer formulae, 6.1-3, 6-7,
8, 10-13, 14-15
- priamel, 1.24-9, 6.17
- prolepsis, 2.55
- prosodic hiatus, 2.28
- prostitutes/prostitution, 7.47-8,
49-50
- proverbial expressions, 1.60-1; 2.20-1,
38, 64, 129-30, 3.8, 40, 186, 222,
275-6, 299, 321; 5.83, 6.49, 95,
7.3-4, 14, 26-7, 8.73-4
- puppets, 7 intro., 7.82
- Pythagoras, 4.3, 6.2, 63
- realism in ancient art, 7.98-9
- represented speech, 7.31-2, 32-3,
8.12-13
- rings, 7.9
- running slave (*seruus currens*), 6.30-1
- Sabellians, 1.36
- Sabine Villa: 4, 9, 12, 3 intro., 3.10,
308, 5 intro., 6 intro., 6.1-3; as
Licenza Villa, 6 intro., 6.2, 7.118
- saffron, 4.68
- Sallust, 7.39
- Salvidienus Rufus, 8 intro.
- Saturnalia, 10, 3 intro., 3.4-5, 7 intro.,
7.3-4
- sauce, *see ius* in Index of Latin Words
- sausages, 4.59
- scholia, 14-15
- Scipio Aemilianus, 2, 1 intro., 1.17,
65-6, 70

- scribes (*scribae*), 5.55–6, 6.36
 Seel, Otto, 6 intro.
 Seven Sages, 3.296
 Sextus Pompey, 6.55–6
 Shackleton Bailey, David R., 13–14
 sheep, 6.14–15
 shellfish: 2.74, 4.29, 30; mussels, 4.28, 32; oysters, 2.21, 4.30; shrimps/prawns, 4.58
 slaves/slavery: 6.66, 107, 108, 109, 7 intro., 7.2–3, 55, 118; exotic, 8.14; slave prices, 7.43; slave torture, 7.66, 76–7
 snails, 4.58, 59
 springs, symbolism of, 6 intro., 6.2
 Stertinius, 3 intro., 3.33
 Stoics/Stoicism: 7, 10, 1.72; 2 intro., 2.110, 3 intro., 3.44, 7 intro., 7.2–3, 72–4, 83–8; language theory, 3.280; paradoxes, 3 intro., 3.97–8, 120, 7 intro.; psychology, 7.95–101; theory of *katalepsis*, 3.208–9
 stripes, on Roman clothing, 7.10
 stylistic figures and effects: “drumroll effect,” 2.20–1, 4.25, 64, 6.14–15; end-stopping, 4 intro.; “golden lines,” 2.135–6, 4.30, 5.98, 6.64, 103–4
 subjunctive: archaic forms of, 3.38, 6.5, 8.90; characterizing, 2.59, 3.236, 7.2–3
 suicide, 3.263
 Surrentum (Sorrento), 4.55
 syllabic lengthening: 2.113; before principal caesura, 1.82, 2.47, 3.1, 260
 syllabic shortening, 2.92, 3.38, 43
 syllepsis, 1.25
 symposium, 8 intro., 8.20–1
 Tarentum (Taranto), 4.34
 Tarrant, Richard, 14
 tense: epistolary imperfect, 6.35; future imperatives, 1.83, 5.29; gnomic perfect, 3.222, 223; gnomic present, 3.291; historic present, 8.27; imperfect expressing disappointment, 1.6–7, 16; perfect potential subjunctive, 7.36–7; pluperfect in *oratio obliqua* 3.10; present with future force, 7.34, 8.34
 Terence, 3.259–71, 264, 265–71, 8.67; *see also* comedy: New Comedy
 testamentary language, 3.84–7, 5.85
 Theophrastus, 5.95
 Tibur (Tivoli), 4.70
 Tiresias, 5 intro., 5.1
 tmesis: 5.51, 6.95; across the line-end, 3.117–18
 tragedy: as point of reference, 3 intro., 3.133, 187–223, 188, 303–4; diction, phraseology, and parody of, 3.201, 202, 5.49, 68–9, 8.34
 transferred epithet (hypallage), 3.35, 70, 205–6, 299, 4.4–5, 61, 75, 5.34–5, 6.105, 8.45, 77–8
 Trebatius, 6, 11–12, 1 intro., 1.4, 7, 80–1
 triclinium, 4.81, 6.65–76, 8.20–6
 Trimalchio, 2 intro., 3.84, 4.81, 5.75, 7.98–9, 8 intro., 8.17
 tripe, 5.40
 Twelve Tables, 1.20, 82–3, 3.180–1, 5.29
 Umbria, 4.40
 Varius, 2, 8 intro., 8.20–1, 58, 63
 Varro, 3.121, 187–223, 288–95, 5 intro., 8 intro.
 Varro Murena, 8 intro.
 vegetables: cabbage, 1.74, 3.60, 62, 125, 4 intro., 4.15; elecampane, 2.44, 3.179, 8 intro., 8.51–2; *holus* 1.74, 2.117, 6 intro., 6.65, 7 intro., 7.30; lettuce, 2.76, 4.59, 8.8–9, 51–2; radishes, 2.43, 8.8–9; rocket, 8 intro., 8.51–2; skirret, 8.8–9; sorrel, 4.29; turnips, 2 intro., 43, 8.8–9
 vegetarianism, 6 intro, 6.2, 63, 64, 117, 7 intro., 7.22–32, 30
 Venusia (Venosa), 1.34–9, 3.168
 vetch, 6 intro., 6.117
 Vibidius, 8 intro., 8.22
 vinegar, 2.62, 3.239, 8.48, 50, 58
 Virgil: allusions to, 9, 1.10–12, 5 intro., 5.60, 62–3, 6.14–15, 53, 60–7, 91, 117; as friend of Horace, 2; *Dirae* of, 2 intro., 2.114
 Viscus, 8.20–1
 Vortumnus (Vertumnus), 7.14
 Votive tablet(s), 1.32–4, 33

- wills: as written documents, 5.53-4;
 language and phraseology of,
 3.84-7, 5.85
 wine: connoisseurship, 3 intro., 4
 intro., 51, 8 intro., 8.16; *merum*
 “unmixed”, 1.9, 4.20; rules of
 drinking, 2.123, 6.67-70; strained,
 4.54-7; tempered, 4.52-3
 wine-lees (*faex*), 3.179, 4.54-7,
 73, 8.9
 wine-stewards, 8.12-13, 14
 wine varieties: Alban, 8.16; Caecuban,
 8.15; Chian, 3.115-16, 8.15; Coan,
 4.29, 8.9; Falernian, 2.15-16,
 3.115-16, 142, 4.19, 24, 8.15, 16;
 Lesbian, 8.50; Maecenian, 8 intro.;
 Massic, 4.51; medicinal, 3.161, 4.52,
 53; Opimian, 3.142; salted, 8.15;
 Setian, 8.15; Veian, 3.143
 witchcraft, 8.86, 90, 94-5
 Zeno, 3 intro., 3.44, 187-223

